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WOODSTOCK LETTERS

SPRING 1967

Volume 96 Number 2

INTRODUCTION

This issue continues with the letters from the Congregation, Part II, in an effort to present a personal view of the 31st General Congregation. They were translated from the *Lettres de Rome* edited in the Province of Montreal.

In our age of renewal, every aspect of the Society has been or will be evaluated in the light of the recent Congregation. **Robert F. Harvanek, S.J.,** newly appointed Provincial of the Chicago Province, reports on the International Congress of the Spiritual Exercises held at Loyola, Spain, during the summer of 1966. The report discusses the significance of the Exercises in today's world and the methodology for giving them. **Joseph A. Slattery, S.J.,** Professor of English at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, interprets the *Exercises* in terms of the ascetical and homiletic writings of St. Augustine.

In 1963, WOODSTOCK LETTERS presented its first Ignatian Survey which assessed articles written on the subject of Ignatian spirituality over the previous year. Associate editor **Robert C. Collins, S.J.,** again has compiled and edited an annotated bibliography of interest to all Jesuits, especially retreat masters.

Every college has the task of creating a climate whereby the students are encouraged to act in a morally responsible manner. This winter, at Woodstock, Michael P. Sheridan, S.J., of the Wisconsin Province, conducted an institute on the contemporary college student. His article, together with the selected readings which complement the ideas in the article, discusses the necessary framework for such moral growth.

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WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assistancy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy, should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609–16.

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THE 31ST GENERAL CONGREGATION: LETTERS FROM THE FIRST SESSION

Edited by James P. Jurich, S.J.

PART II

June 27-28, 1965

Apostolate and procedure

Back to the Congregation. I presented the text on the social apostolate which provoked only two more or less favorable interventions. One requested that we insist more on participation in international organizations. The other intervention suggested the text was too prudent. The text will doubtlessly be adopted definitively during the week. In my last letter I spoke of the vote on the Assistants. In order to limit the length of their term, a two-thirds majority vote would have been necessary. However, the vote taken last Thursday, while close to that majority, did not make it.

Some who were disappointed at the results made an "intercession": the *Formula* of the Congregation allows anyone to appeal within three days if he thinks that a vote was irregular or illegal, etc. But others, who said that there had been nothing irregular about the first vote, did not want to allow this appeal. The result was a long discussion on procedure in which everyone from the General on down was involved. As a last resort, the question was referred to a special session which was held quite unusually on Sunday morning and which confirmed the first vote. Many deplored the fact that the Jesuits were unaware of modern rules of procedure for deliberative assemblies. For example, it was unforeseen by the *Formula* that someone might be able to introduce an amendment to a proposal, much less an amendment to an amendment. Voting was always on the entire proposition, adopting it or

rejecting it as a whole. The General realized the difficulty and publicly asked those who had recommendations to make on procedure to forward them to him.

Interprovincial cooperation

Yesterday, while we were discussing interprovincial cooperation, a father from behind the Iron Curtain stepped up to the microphone for the first time since the session began. "Non sum provincialis, numquam fui, et numquam ero provincialis (I am not a provincial, I never have been a provincial, and I never will be)," he said. Smiles and laughter from the audience—and he continued:

I wish that the other provinces would support us in our struggle to preserve the Society and the Church in Communist countries. I mean, first of all, that they pay attention to our fate. I myself, under some sort of pretext, was thrown into prison, and there I remained for six months. I was never convicted of any definite crime or sentenced by any judge. In my country, we have no recourse against this arbitrary treatment except international public opinion, the opinion of the West. When an arrest of this kind occurs in Franco's Spain or Salazar's Portugal, the whole world is filled with Communist protests. Why shouldn't as much be done when *we* are the victims? Why couldn't each of the Jesuit provinces arouse public opinion in its country whenever the Society suffers when one of its members is arrested, imprisoned, and tortured behind the Iron Curtain? Wouldn't that be an excellent form of solidarity and interprovincial cooperation? When one of the members suffers, shouldn't the whole body be alerted to defend him and itself?

The speaker, who himself was quite moved, had stirred the emotions of his listeners. When he stopped, they applauded this dramatic appeal for a long time. Shortly afterwards, the General intervened to tell us not to be surprised if, in the near future, he took serious steps in this area of interprovincial cooperation—not violent steps, he made clear, because "violenta non durant," but effective steps to respond to the needs of the hour.

June 28-29, 1965

The fountain is dry

This morning it was so hot—over 95°—that I tried in vain to think of something else in my room (the sun had been beating on it all day). I reached the conclusion that nothing was getting done there and that I might as well go to the garden. Even there I lost all desire to work or to read Smulders' book on Teilhard de Chardin. (The Congregation wasn't meeting this morning because of Fr. Baumann's funeral. He had lived at the Curia for twenty years.)

The fathers began coming out of their rooms mopping their brows and filling the corridors. To make matters worse, the Pepsi machine was

locked. When it was finally opened after many attempts, the disappointment was even greater: the machine was completely empty! The question of adjournment came up for discussion again. Those who live on the sixth floor are complaining loudly because they also have the heat from the tile terrace which forms the roof.

Outlooks

As for the end of the Congregation, there are three possibilities: (1) if the Congregation wanted to complete all the work it had before it, it would take at least until August 1, and more probably until August 15; (2) if the Congregation established some priorities and satisfied itself with that, it could end around July 20; (3) if the heat forced us to hold a second session, the end would come in the second week of July.

The new Assistants

We are breaking in the new Assistants elected yesterday. There are only four, as the new decree specified—the "Big Four," as they are already called. We spent the day on that election process, which was quite long, since no one was elected on the first ballot. I will give you a few details on each one.

The first elected: Fr. Swain, elected on the second ballot. This was a tribute to the man who had been Vicar General and who had done his job to everybody's satisfaction. Everyone respects him and has confidence in his judgment. He is unassuming, does not raise his voice, shrinks from publicity, and knows the operations of the Society very well. Someone even said to me that Fr. Swain belonged to the whole Society, that he could no longer be thought of as a Canadian or as a representative of Canada. From the beginning, his election to the office of Assistant seemed assured.

The second: Fr. O'Keefe, rector of Fordham University. During the four days of information-gathering, everybody was saying that if the Americans succeeded in agreeing on a candidate, that candidate would have every chance of being elected, for everyone realized that an American had to be on the Big Four. But which American? Bringing this about was painful for the Americans, who met several times before finding the man who not only was suitable but also would agree to live at the Curia in Rome. The choice finally fell on the rector of Fordham University, much to the despair of the Provincial of New York, who is losing a good man and who has to find another president for Fordham University. In any case, the night before the vote, at the last meeting of the Americans, Frs. O'Keefe and McGinty (Provincial of New York) gave their consent and the thing seemed to be in the bag. In fact, as

early as the first vote—the one that elected Fr. Swain—Fr. O'Keefe was among the front-ranking possible choices and appeared to all to be the candidate on whom the Americans agreed. So there was no difficulty getting him elected as the second Assistant. All the same, the poor father had hoped to the end that he could avoid it, especially after the election of Fr. Swain. When I was congratulating him for showing well in that election, he said to me: "Now the danger is over. The Congregation will not elect two Assistants from North America." He is an unpretentious man, with a keen intellect. He did his theology at Louvain (so he speaks French) and his tertianship in Germany, where he learned German. He knows a little Italian and, as he says, American. He was one of the youngest of the Americans, even (according to him) the youngest. That's why he was asked to sacrifice himself: he is forty-five. He is like Jonah cast into the sea, and, as one father here says, *Roma, hominum vorax*, has swallowed him up.

The third: Fr. Dezza, of the Province of Venice-Milan. Everybody knows him. As far back as 1935, he was provincial of his province, then rector of the Gregorian from 1941 to 1952. He attended the 28th General Congregation in 1938, the 29th in 1946, the 30th in 1957, and the 31st in 1965. It's a record no Canadian will ever match. At the present time, he is Father General's delegate for the interprovincial houses in Rome. He is a man who inspires respect, who possesses a vast experience on the question of studies in the Society, and who has close connections with the Roman Curia.

The fourth: Fr. Varga, Vice-Provincial of all the dispersed Hungarians. He lived for a few years at Toronto and visited Montreal several times. He was professor of ethics and social questions at Fordham University. With Fr. O'Keefe, he is the second Assistant Fordham is furnishing the Curia.

Jesuit government and the parliamentary system

There you have the Big Four Club or, to use a phrase current in Ottawa, the "inner circle" of the Society's government. They have been elected for the lifetime of the General or until the next Congregation. They are the General's official consultors in every situation where canon law or the law of the Society calls for their opinion. All the other Assistants will be named by the General, but nothing prevents him from assigning a regional assistancy to one of these four.

While walking the other day with Quebec's Minister of Labor, I explained to him the Society's system of government and what we were doing in Rome. I told him, in short: the General Congregation currently in session is like the legislative assembly in Quebec. It is made

up of deputies who come from every part of the world. It has complete power. Not only does it elect the General (who corresponds to a prime minister or president, except that he is elected for life), but it also appoints his principal ministers for him, that is, his Assistants. It maps out and develops the legislative program, which it then hands over to the General for execution. It is completely sovereign, a true legislative body whose president is the Superior General. The Minister of Labor, thinking out loud, admitted that he had never thought the Society of Jesus was so democratic. For him, the General was like the Supreme Pontiff, an absolute monarch. He had never heard of a Jesuit legislative assembly working out the specific tasks of the General's term.

The Society in Holland

The other night we had a conference on the situation of the Church and the Society in Holland. The talk, given by Fr. Smulders (author of the book *La vision de Teilhard de Chardin*), interested me all the more because Father General, after our interview with him, had told us that the Society in Holland was passing through a crisis similar to ours in Canada. In other words, the session was worth the inconvenience because it was very instructive to Canadians. Here is a full summary.

One of the most important facts to know in order to understand the religious situation and the present crisis in Holland is the large number of atheists and non-believers in that country. In 1960, 27% of the entire population identified themselves as atheists or non-believers. In a large city like Amsterdam, the proportion climbs to 50%, and at the University of Amsterdam, the figure reaches 90% among the teaching staff. Avant-garde literature is completely atheistic. Priestly and religious vocations are going down in number, along with confessions, Communions, attendance at Mass, etc. From this situation the crisis arises. Fr. Smulders gives three signs or causes for it:

1) *The variety of adherents to different religious confessions, or what he calls a time of "religious promiscuity."* Up until quite recently, Catholics were organized among themselves, had their own religious and civil associations, married among themselves, etc. Thus they lived in a milieu where the faith grew and preserved itself almost automatically. Today, all the barriers are down. Catholics, Protestants, atheists, non-believers, etc., meet each other in the same organizations, associations, clubs, etc., and everything—the faith, like everything else—is called into question and subject to doubt.

2) *The intellectual and social emancipation of Catholics, especially laymen.* For a long time the clergy alone had the intellectual competence required to play a leading role in Dutch Catholic society. Because of this, laymen showed almost blind devotion to the clergy whom they dared not criticize. But today Catholic laymen are well-educated, and they notice that many of

the clergy argue from authority and that they are not as competent as they want to appear to be. Criticism grows against certain of the clergy who are considered reactionary. This is an adolescent's reaction, but it is one which is accompanied by a strong desire to be active in the things of the faith, to think for oneself, and to live free of authority.

3) *The call of conscience to apostolic duty.* Up until now Catholics had lived wrapped up in themselves, almost as if in a ghetto. Now they have discovered their obligation to be present to the world and to give witness. They realize that their exclusively Catholic organizations have cut them off from the mainstream of thought and action in modern life. They want to enter into dialogue with the modern world of humanism, but they find themselves inferiors, and from this their criticisms, their impatience, and their revolts arise.

The crisis in the Society is dominated by this external situation. The younger generation feels that the Society is absent from the avant-garde, that it does not participate enough in the great movements like ecumenism, liturgical reform, the dialogue with socialist humanism and atheism. They think that the Society lives on outmoded apostolates, which are just average, like the schools, retreat houses, etc., and that we are outpaced in boldness and initiative by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. There is also a crisis of discipline among the young, but the Dutch have always been a bit undisciplined. Among the priests who have left the Society, none, however, have abandoned their priesthood or their faith. The young want to be present among men, to be human with people. They figure they will find God in interaction with men, and not in the sort of monastic life that too often the Society forces them to live. The ideas of Bishop Robinson (*Honest to God*) exert a great influence on them, and they realize that so far there hasn't been a genuine, theological, irrefutable response to the question posed by Bishop Robinson. Catholics and the Society are behind the times, while the world makes itself, renews itself, etc., etc. In conclusion, Fr. Smulders told us that it is necessary to have confidence because the crisis is born of a truly apostolic spirit. The young Jesuits want to be present to the world, to give witness to their faith, and to construct a Church adapted to the needs of the hour.

So you see the similarites. I have transcribed Fr. Smulders' conference almost word for word, without changing anything. I think that the General had reason to say that the situations in Holland and French Canada resemble one another. The Dutch remain optimistic, and they believe that they will surmont the crisis.

July 1, 1965

As I write to you on this first day of July, our holiday in Canada, I can picture you at the spot where I would really like to find myself at

this moment, at Villa St-Michel. Here, the temperature has stayed between 90° and 95° for two weeks, and, as good religious in this model house which is the Curia, we are still wearing our habits (and have a sweating competition going). We can't help being drawn toward that marvelous Pepsi vending machine, where the consumption has been frightening for some days now, with even the General himself going there for his bottle.

More table-talk

For the fourth time, and to my great surprise, I had dinner yesterday next to Father General. Since the Assistants had been named the day before, I thought that they would immediately occupy the places at the head table. In fact, they were there the first night. At noon yesterday, I came into the dining room. The General was alone at his table. Just as I was going to take my place at a table in the middle, he signaled to me to come and join him. I hesitated, convinced that he was forgetting his Assistants, but he repeated his invitation. . . . I took my place at his side, thinking that the Assistants must have been elsewhere celebrating their election—at the Gregorian, for example—and that that was why the General was alone. But just then Fr. O'Keefe, one of the new Assistants, came into the dining room and went to take a place at one of the common tables. Some charitable souls signaled to him to go to the table of honor, but he shook his head and stayed where he was. I was mystified.

The lot of the Assistants

At "Deo gratias" (which always comes at dessert-time during the noon meal, but never at night) the conversation got off to a fast start. After the usual greetings, I immediately asked the question: "What have you done with your ring of Assistants?" He started to laugh. He told me that at the first consultation, held that very morning, the first decision taken with and for the Assistants had been that from now on they would have no special places reserved for them in the chapel and the dining room. In the future they will be able to mix in with the crowd, with the flunkies at the common tables, and the General will be able to have a whole variety of neighbors at his table. This, he told me, is a beginning in the democratization of the Curia. The step was adopted unanimously, but it is only provisional, that is, for as long as the Congregation lasts. After that, we will see; but I have the impression that the provisional is going to last and that if you ever return to the Curia, you will be able to have your dinner next to the General and then go to recreation without being obliged to take your seat opposite him, under the eyes of the obligatory circle of Assistants. When

I spoke with Fr. O'Keefe after dinner, he told me that this is only the first step and that there will be many other changes at the Curia. The "desolemnization" of the Curia has begun. . . .

The Congregation's labors

Since much of the work is now ready, the Congregation is going to multiply its plenary sessions: morning and afternoon. I mentioned to the General that those living on the sixth floor were complaining about the heat, which they get from the front, the side, and the roof above. He replied that although his room is on the fifth floor, there is nothing above it and he also gets the heat from three sides, but still the Congregation has to continue. . . . For a few days, meanwhile, I have noticed that he has intervened and told some people that their intervention "non est ad rem." In my opinion, he will have to do that more often, because scores of interventions don't make sense, except to put their authors in the limelight temporarily and to waste the time of the other two hundred people listening to them. I admit that I haven't managed to understand how and why so many Jesuits want to and can intervene so often "de omni re scibili et quibusdam aliis. . . ."

The Canadian presence in Rome

Imperceptibly, we passed on to the affairs of Canada. Father General began by relating the banter he has been hearing since the first consultation with his new Assistants. Someone (I couldn't find out who) said that Canada is beginning to have too much influence at the Curia: Fr. Swain is not only the first Assistant, but he was also elected admonitor; Fr. Varga, another Assistant, worked in Canada for a long time, and he is still the superior of the Hungarian Jesuits in Canada; and Fr. O'Keefe, the President of Fordham, lives in a town which is only a suburb of Montreal! I told him that there was a little truth in this last assertion, since formerly all North American Jesuits had been grouped in a single province, the Province of New York-Canada, and it's not certain that at this period New York was not a suburb of Montreal! He enjoyed that. . . .

The Embassy versus the Curia

I sounded him out for the next day, our Canadian holiday, because all the Canadians at the Congregation were invited to a reception from 5:00 o'clock until 7:00 in the Canadian Embassy gardens. When I mentioned this invitation, the General replied: "Of course, you people have to go."

"And the Congregation?"

"That's right. . . . Well, in that case. . . ."

(Today, July 1, the Congregation was in session from 4:30 until 8:00, and quite wisely, all the Canadians took part.)

The "new" vows

A closing remark. We have some people here who try to rework the spontaneous witticisms made by our cleverest delegates. Here is the definitive text—and in Latin—of the new formula of the vows in the Society, in accordance with the *postulata* sent by the scholastics, which Father General found amusing: "Voveo laborem remuneratum (paupertatem), maturitatem affectivam (castitatem), et dialogum perpetuum (obedientiam) in Societate Iesu, omnia intelligendo iuxta meam constitutionem. . . ."

An overwhelming prospect

When I was in the juniorate (of happy memory), our professors urged us to read Godefroid Kurth's book, *L'église aux tournants de l'histoire.* This old title comes to mind at the moment, when the 31st General Congregation is involved, this morning, in a great turning point in its history. At 10:30 a *relatio* will be presented on the duration of the Congregation and the advisability of adjourning and holding a second session after the Council. Yesterday, Fr. Abellán, the Secretary of the Congregation, gave an outline of the work done and the work still to be done. When he announced to us that some items would not be ready before July 10, and others not before July 15, a burst of groans and exclamations shot through the assembly. It is clear that the Congregation must make a choice, and as quickly as possible. It has undertaken a gigantic task, one that is more far-reaching than any previous Congregation had dared to attempt. To accomplish this task, however, it has to remain in session for at least a month and a half more, if not for two months, in the middle of summer, with the hot weather that renders no one benevolent. If it does not accomplish this work, there will be great disappointment throughout the whole Society. And, in any case, two or three years from now, the General will have to call another Congregation to take up the task again, for there are some things that have dragged on for years and that Congregations have put off time after time or else referred to Father General. But to act on them he needs precise directives from the supreme legislative authority of the General Congregation.

Balance-sheet of the Congregation

Perhaps it would be good to give you a sketch of what the 31st General Congregation has done and what remains to be done. The starting point: the 1950 *postulata* questioning everything in the Society. (I recall that only 400 *postulata* were presented to the General Congrega-

tion of 1957.) To study these *postulata*, five large commissions have been created, to which the General has added a sixth, in charge of studying the mission of the Society in the modern world, and especially the mission of opposing atheism entrusted to the Society by the Sovereign Pontiff. . . .

Commission I: Government

This commission is made up of thirty-nine members under Fr. Swain's chairmanship, and it is subdivided into four subcommissions. Up to now, this is the one which has presented the most documents to the Congregation, more than 180 pages of texts.

Subcommission I: Government in general

So far, only two texts have been presented. One is a preliminary text, and the other is a definitive text on the qualities all government in the Society ought to have. These texts have come before the Congregation, but they received so much criticism that they have disappeared—temporarily?—from circulation.

Subcommision II: Government of the whole Society

About fifty pages have been delivered, some of which are about Father General. On this subject, a rather peculiar phenomenon has arisen. Before the General's election, the Congregation had discussed at length the advisability of limiting the duration of the term of the General. Then, faced with the impossibility of coming to an agreement, it had postponed the decision on this question until after the election. During the first weeks the subcommission had presented a text entitled *De duratione muneris P. Generalis et de novis cautelis*, but when the text came back before the Congregation two weeks later, its title had been changed to *De muneris Praepositi Generalis renuntiatione*. In short, the subcommission had abandoned the idea of limiting the General's term, and it was only presenting new possibilities for the resignation of the General for grave reasons. Some people, who wanted to take up the discussion on the generalate for life or for a definite term once again, did not care for this about-face, and they said so, but for the moment the silence is total. . . .

The Assistants

This point has again given rise to endless debates on their number, the length of their terms of office, the method of electing them, etc. I have already spoken about that. . . .

With regard to the four General Assistants elected by the Congregation, I will point out one reaction. The Europeans—at least some of them—think that the upper echelon of the Society's government is too

Americanized. There is no difficulty about the General, for Fr. Arrupe is at least one-third European, one-third American, and one-third Oriental. No one can claim him entirely. But in European eyes, the North Americans have an exaggerated representation with three of their men belonging to the Big Four, the four General Assistants: Frs. Swain, O'Keefe, and Varga (whom they regard as Americanized), leaving only Fr. Dezza to represent Europe.

Subcommission III: Provincial government

Up to the present time, this subcommission has presented some thirty pages on three different subjects: provincials, interprovincial houses, and superiors. The only question which has been really discussed in the *aula* has been that of interprovincial cooperation, but the debate that took place satisfied no one. Some provincials who have interprovincial houses acknowledged their dissatisfaction. Others shifted the debate to financial solidarity among the provinces, and others to the unity of action in the Society, etc. The General intervened at the end to say that he considered this question to be very important and that he had the intention to act in this area. . . . With regard to the provincials, they have not yet been treated too badly. . . . It is true that they are there to defend themselves.

Subcommission IV: Congregations

We have about fifty pages on the general, procurators', and provincial congregations. . . . Right now we have before us an extremely interesting text on the number of those who would be able to take part in the next General Congregation. Will we have the time to study and adopt it? I doubt it. Broadly speaking, it involves giving each assistancy and each province a more equitable representation. The American Assistancy makes up 23.2% of all Jesuits, but it has only 15.4% of the representatives at the Congregation. The English Assistancy, which counts for 13.9% of all Jesuits, nevertheless has 14.5% of the representatives. The two new Provinces of Quebec and Montreal, which do not have 400 members, each have three representatives, while the Provinces of New York and New England, with more than 1100 members each, also have only three representatives each. So it is quite probable that a new plan for representation will be adopted, based on the number of Jesuits in each province. Then Montreal and Quebec would have only two delegates instead of three. . . .

We have before us several texts on the reform of the provincial congregation, with some very interesting suggestions on the manner of participation. If all these suggestions go through, our old Jesuits will be quite at sea, and the next Provincial Congregation at St-Jérôme is going

to take on a completely different look from the one we had last time. . . . But before that happens, there will probably be a long battle in the *aula*. . . . The Old Guard may die, but it doesn't surrender!

Second session in September, 1966

I interrupt my report to tell you the big news. The General and the Assistants have just proposed the following motion to the Congregation: THE PRESENT CONGREGATION WILL ADJOURN ON JULY 15 OR JULY 17 AND WILL RESUME, IN A SECOND SESSION, IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1966. Since they approved this proposal unanimously, I think the Congregation will support it. It will be put to a vote on Monday, July 5. . . .

July 4-5, 1965

Small fry!

In my haste to finish with Commission I, on government, I forgot a prominent figure (at least in our Province), for, at the Congregation, so far no one has gotten worked up over this post. I am referring to the *socius*, whom someone defined: "Nexus inter provincialem et iuniores generationes," and of whom a former provincial used to say: "I was socius for fifteen years, and whenever people asked me what I was doing, I would answer: Nothing! The socius is the right arm of the provincial: he does nothing by himself, but does everything the provincial asks him to do." Two *postulata* are concerned with this eminent personage. One does not want the socius to be too young. The other wants to make it possible for him to take part in provincial congregations. So far, the Congregation has not judged it worthwhile to dwell on this celebrity. This is small fry, at a time when it has its hands full with these big fish (Father General, the Assistants, the provincials, the various congregations, etc.), especially since now that a second session is announced, the stock response to all these secondary questions has become: "For the second session!"

Commission II: Ministries and the apostolate

The commission on ministries and the apostolate is the most numerous of all, with fifty-nine members under the chairmanship of our Fr. Carrier. . . .

Subcommission V: Social apostolate and communications media

My subcommission. It has entirely finished its work and was the first subcommission to have the texts it presented adopted completely. There are three: (1) on the social apostolate; (2) on the communications media; (3) on an information center at the Curia. I must admit that it had rather easy work, especially since it did not concern the *Constitu-*

tions. (As soon as a text affects the *Constitutions*, there is always a phalanx of defenders who raise their shields to defend them.) Our texts stirred up little objection during the public discussion in the *aula*, and they were adopted unanimously, so to speak.

Commission III: Formation and studies of Jesuits

Under Fr. Dezza's chairmanship, this commission is the second largest, with fifty-four members. It is divided into three subcommissions: (1) on general formation; (2) on the ordinary course of studies; (3) on special studies. Contrary to the practice of the other commissions, however, it has decided to present a single text covering the work of all three subcommissions. We have in our hands, therefore, thirty pages on Jesuit formation and studies. This commission alone has had to go through, study, and discuss the 287 *postulata* referred to it, *postulata* questioning almost everything employed in our intellectual formation up until now, from the juniorate to the *ad grad*, without overlooking the professors!

The commission, therefore, has submitted to the Congregation a long document which Fr. Dezza presented with his usual mastery (he comes up to the microphone, without notes, and improvises in Latin with great facility).[5]

After a careful consideration of the numerous *postulata* which the Congregation received about this point, it has seemed best to draw up a single decree which will solve the problems that can be solved now and give an orientation concerning questions that cannot be solved now.

I

The first part of the decree deals with the training in general and is shorter, because many questions touching the spiritual life and religious discipline have been omitted. These will be taken up explicitly in other decrees. For there seemed no point to repetition. Therefore, supposing what will be taken up elsewhere, only those points are taken up here which touch on some special circumstances of those in training. This will not prevent the matter of the present decree being joined to and harmonized with what will be said in the decree on spiritual formation to be approved by the Congregation in its second session.

Perhaps even the things said in this first part do not seem new, since the tradition of the Society has professed them from the beginning. But the large number of *postulata* indicates their timeliness and importance. The youth of

[5] At this point, the author summarizes in five paragraphs Fr. Dezza's *relatio* and the decree itself. This has been replaced here with a translation of most of the official *relatio*. In an unusual step, this had been sent to all Jesuit houses along with the decree. Three paragraphs which merely repeat what is in the final decree have been omitted here. The full Latin text may be found in *ActRSJ* 14 (1965) 621-28.

today is distinguished by both maturity and immaturity more strikingly than in the past. The maturity arises from their great freedom in action, work, and choice even from their childhood. The immaturity comes from a slower development, both biological and psychological, especially in their affective life. Add to this that the very world in which the young men live and for whose evangelization they must prepare themselves demands a unity of all things and the solidarity of all men.

The first part of the decree attempts to answer these diverse and new needs. . . .

II

The second part deals with studies and is more inclusive because this is the particular scope of the present decree.

. . . some norms are given for the revision of the *Ratio Studiorum* (No. 15).

It might help to point out clearly what the present Congregation can or cannot do, in view of the legislation of the Church and the Society.

There are many ecclesiastical laws about studies, of which some affect Jesuit scholastics inasmuch as they are preparing for the priesthood, and others inasmuch as they are working for ecclesiastical degrees.

Of these laws, some are now in force (the Apostolic Constitutions *Deus Scientiarum Dominus, Sedes Sapientiae, Veterum Sapientia,* and so on); some will soon be promulgated by the Council (the *Decree on Priestily Formation*); and some are foreseen during the post-conciliar period (a revision of *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*).

Since these laws do not depend on the General Congregation, and since to seek a dispensation from them now is neither possible nor opportune, the decree on studies was so drawn up that it does not contradict the laws now in force, is suited to the laws soon to be promulgated by the Council, and can easily be adapted to the post-conciliar laws, as far as can be foreseen.

In addition, there are the *Statuta Facultatum Societatis Iesu*, which were written by the Society, but approved by the Holy See and so cannot be changed without the approval of the Holy See. But a change will be easy to get, but not now; for, since they are connected with the Apostolic Constitution *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*, their revision is connected with the revision of that Constitution.

Finally, there are the laws of the Society, which can be changed by the Congregation, though in various ways. First, there are the *Constitutions*; however, nothing in the decree is contrary to the *Constitutions* except what is said in No. 29 about the subject matter of the *ad gradum* examination. In that section, it is determined that philosophy, as a part separate from theology, is dropped from the *ad gradum*. The reason is that the philosophical part of the examination, as many admit, is not serious. On the one hand, the scholastics have already taken an exam on all of philosophy and during their preparation for theology do not have time to review all of philosophy. On the other hand, the professors of theology, the men who do the examining, usually do not know the more serious problems of modern philosophy, and so they

tend to examine the students only about the philosophical questions that are connected with theology and can easily be fitted into it, as it is said in No. 29.

Moreover, there are the decrees of preceding General Congregations, and the most important of those dealing with studies are in the *Collection of Decrees*, Nos. 84-128. The General Congregation can abrogate or revise these decrees, and, in fact, in the new decree here given there are many points which contradict these decrees. But since the Congregation cannot carry out a consideration and revision of each of these decrees, it commits to Father General and a new commission, which is to revise the *Ratio Studiorum*, the task of revising all the decrees on studies and setting up norms, until the next General Congregation gives a definitive form to them, after research and experimentation has been completed.

Therefore, the decrees of former General Congregations and the Ordinations of Father General, which contradict this decree and to the extent that they do, are abrogated. The remaining decrees remain in force till new norms are established. To clear up some doubts and solve difficulties some norms will be given below.

Since it was asked that studies be better adapted to regional differences and necessary circumstances, not only is permission given to the provincials (or the board of provincials), but they are obliged to prepare a regional *Ordo Studiorum* with the help of *periti*. In this *Ordo*, within the limits of the laws of the Church and the whole Society, accommodations can be made to legitimate desires, and yet excessive differences avoided, so that it will not become practically impossible for a scholastic to be transferred from one country to another for studies, as now can be done with great profit (No. 16).

The provision is in accord with the *Decree on Priestly Formation*, which will soon be promulgated by the Council. This decree provides that the conferences of bishops, in particular nations or rites, shall draw up a *sacerdotalis institutionis ratio* which is to adapt the universal laws to particular circumstances of time and place. This *ratio* is to be approved by the Holy See, and regularly revised, so that the training of priests may always correspond to the pastoral needs of the regions in which ministries are to be exercised. In an analogous way in the Society, the boards of provincials are to draw up regional *Ordines Studiorum*, to be regularly revised and approved by Father General.

III

After these general remarks on the *Ratio Studiorum* for the whole Society, it will help to point out the new elements in that part of the decree called "The General Curriculum of Studies," some of which depart from the decrees of preceding General Congregations:

1. The norm is kept which requires that each scholastic ordinarily work for those academic degrees which can be obtained by means of the general curriculum of studies. But the bond hitherto established has been broken, so that it is no longer necessary to have the permission of Father General for someone to be working toward the profession in the Society yet not working for

academic degrees. The same will be true of those who are working for an academic degree but not now toward the profession (No. 21).

2. Since many *postulata* asked that the time spent in the general curriculum be shortened, so that more and better provision could be made for special studies, it is now allowed, without asking Father General's permission, to reduce the philosophical curriculum to two years, and to defer or even to omit regency. Hence, apart from the six-year curriculum of philosophy and theology a scholastic can use all the years of study for his specialization (No. 22).

3. Permission is also given, that in the different regional *Ordines Studiorum* regency may be so arranged as seems best: either keeping it as it is, or postponing it until after the completion of theology, or using some other method. It is necessary, however, that the goal of regency not be neglected, and if regency is not made, that goal must be gained by other means; for example, throughout the whole course of studies the scholastics may be sent during summer vacation to do suitable apostolic experiments under the direction of some experienced person (No. 30).

4. When the philosophy curriculum is reduced to two years, the prescriptions of the *Ratio Studiorum*, No. 122, must be observed, namely, concerning classes in scholastic philosophy and the history of philosophy and concerning the examinations on the whole of scholastic philosophy and the history of philosophy. For care is to be had that, even if some auxiliary or special disciplines have to be dropped in the two-year curriculum, a solid training in philosophy is received by the scholastics, as described in No. 22, and they may be able to receive a bachelor's degree in philosophy.

5. According to the mind of the Council (cf. *Decree on Priestly Formation*) and according to the desires of many, an introduction to the mystery of Christ and the history of salvation is prescribed, at least at the beginning of philosophy, unless it is given sooner. This introduction, adapted to the mind of contemporary young men, will be very significant for their religious, academic, and apostolic formation (No. 20).

6. A greater coordination between the philosophy and theology curricula is required, and a revision of all syllabi, so that useless repetitions which often happen now (e.g., between natural theology and *De Deo Uno*, between ethics and moral theology, etc.) may be avoided (Nos. 21, 25).

7. In the curriculum of theology, greater importance is given to Scripture, and the courses in it (which in No. 155 of the *Ratio Studiorum* were assigned to second year) can profitably be begun in first. There is no difficulty in having moral theology in third year, and the exam "for hearing confessions" can be taken after ordination, but before any confessions can be heard.

8. There is no need to maintain distinct series of classes for long and short courses. It is clear that some theologians will be in line for profession but not for degrees, or for degrees but not for profession, or for neither. This does not make a division of lectures necessary, and in fact it has been dropped in some scholasticates. Where it is maintained, it seems often to be a painful

discrimination. Yet according to the different talents of the scholastics and their aptitude for future assignments, a more personal care of the scholastics should be taken by professors (through special courses and seminars) (No. 24).

9. Concerning the number of classes, though no final solution can be given because of laws still in force, some lessening of class hours can be allowed, but preserving the requirements of the *Ratio Studiorum*, No. 44.3; *Ordinatio*, No. 29.1; *Sedes Sapientiae Statuta Gen.*, art. 42.4. Likewise, it can be permitted that in place of some lectures, seminars or exercises be given, in which the active participation of the scholastics is stimulated. In this area, suitable experiments in various scholasticates can be permitted by Father General, so that ways can be found to improve the training of scholastics.

11. There are many new things as regards examinations. A permission asked for by many is given to introduce written examinations, even in a major discipline. It will be the function of the regional *Ordines* to determine the proportion we are to give to written examinations and other written work done during the year in assigning the final grade. After an oral examination, the examiners can consult together, yet each must give his own personal and secret grade. It is more easily permitted to repeat an examination—annual as well as *de universa philosophia* and the *ad gradum*—without asking Father General's permission. However, the other prescriptions on examinations given in the *Ratio Studiorum*, e.g., the length of the oral examination, the number of examiners, the computation of grades, etc., continue in force. The examiners must examine as a board in the examinations *de universa philosophia* and the final examination in theology. In the annual examinations the examiners can examine separately. For those who are not working toward a degree nor for the profession, the prescriptions given in the *Ratio Studiorum* for the exams on the short course in theology are to be kept.

14. Finally, a solution is proposed to a problem arising from the need, on the one side, not to have too many scholastics in one college so that there can be a real religious community and not a barracks, and from the other side, of the need not to multiply advanced schools and faculties, of which there are already too many in the Society and which cannot be suitably kept up without a great waste of money and personnel. It is also recommended that new scholasticates not be built in deserted places, but, as far as possible, near university centers, so that communications can be established with these scholarly centers, to the advantage of both professors and students. There are risks, and so care must be used, so that the training of Jesuits is not harmed but improved (No. 32).

IV

Some norms are given on special studies, as asked for in the *postulata*; these norms were already to be found, though in scattered fashion, in the decrees of General Congregations and the Ordinations of Father General, even if they have not always been observed.

First, mention is made of the ever-increasing need for special studies, not only for teaching sacred and secular sciences, but also for specialized ministries, or at least for special preparation for different assignments. For the general preparation is indeed necessary for all, but it is not enough for many, and so must be completed by special preparation.

The more difficult the special preparation, the more necessary is the accurate and timely selection of scholastics and direction and consistency in special studies. The Society suffers much harm from the ease with which our young scholastics, even those of outstanding virtue and talent, are given assignments in succession which differ widely among themselves. As a consequence, they do not become outstanding in anything. It seems we must try very earnestly to procure the greater and more universal good, even at the sacrifice of some particular lesser good.

V

In the last part, "Doctrine and Teaching," the decree revises, and in an organic way adapts to the needs of our times, things which had been set down by previous Congregations in different circumstances.

Some more details on doctrine, as also many particulars either in the general curriculum or in special studies, are not taken up in the decree, not because they do not deserve consideration, but because they should not be considered *now*. For these will have to be dealt with by the commission for revising the *Ratio Studiorum*, which will work after the Congregation. It will have to consider the laws which will be passed by the Church and the experiments which will be made in the Society. Then, having considered all this seriously and quietly, it can draw up new norms and present them to the next Congregation for approval. In the meantime, the present decree approved by the Congregation opens the way to a sound development and true progress in the training of scholastics in studies, which so many *postulata* have insistently asked for.

I have said enough on this for you to get an idea of this decree on studies. So far, it has not aroused any great opposition, except on the part of the Germans, who have asked to have it put off until the second session in order to have more time to study it.

Dining the other day opposite Fr. Dezza, I congratulated him on his work and asked him somewhat jokingly and to see his reaction: "How does it happen that you have agreed to support such radical reforms, which I have heard described as revolutionary?" He answered me: "All these reforms were in the air a long time ago. The only thing that remained to be done was to condense them into a decree which would be flexible and would not block the way of the future. This is what we have done. To my great surprise, however, while I was expecting some very lively opposition in the *aula*, almost nobody brought up serious objections to the reforms we propose." The decree will come up again

during the week, and it will probably be adopted by a strong majority; most people are very satisfied with it.

July 5-6, 1965

Commission IV: Religious life

The fourth commission, with Fr. Ganss, an American, as its chairman, is made up of thirty-three members. It is divided into seven subcommissions.

Subcommission III: Poverty

This is the big subcommission, the one which has given us the most texts since we began. The problem of poverty has been with us for more than a century. We have been asking for dispensations since 1824. Every Congregation since that time has grappled with this problem, but none has ever been able to settle it, because of the famous vow *de non relaxanda paupertate*. In 1957, before the General Congregation, Fr. Janssens had asked the provincials in writing if they could give up Mass stipends. Of the fifty-four answers received, fifty-two were negative. At the time of the Congregation of 1957, endless debates took place on this subject, and the Congregation, unable to agree after three weeks of discussion, ended up naming a commission which would report to Father General and the next Congregation. The commission made its report, and Fr. Janssens, when he was preparing the present Congregation, had a certain number of experts come to Rome to present the question. One of these was Fr. Delchard, chairman of the subcommission.

This subcommission has done an enormous amount of work, providing us with a hundred pages of texts and condensing everything that has been done up to this point. It has presented eight schemas or decrees which are supposed to settle the question once and for all. It goes about this in blunt fashion: "But now, having said all this, we seek answers to these questions: (*a*) what does it mean to have a dispensation from a law for 140 years and—something which is more serious still—*without any hope of returning to the law*? (*b*) What is to be said about our practice of poverty today, completely divorced as it is from the law in most cases?"

Here are the titles of the eight schemas presented on poverty:

1) *Procedure.* The question involves the *Constitutions*; they suggest a special procedure.

2) *Evangelical and religious poverty in the Society of Jesus.*

3) *The matter of the vow not to relax poverty.* This involves giving an authentic interpretation of the matter of the vow of poverty. On this point, *scinduntur doctores*, and they're battling it out with canons and

constitutions! Saturday afternoon, the debate raged for two hours and saw two of our Canadians intervene and win applause. . . . Fr. Delchard is on all fronts at once.

4) *Common life in the Society.* General principles which stir up no controversies.

5) *Particular cases.*

6) *The fruit of labor.* This decree declares that in addition to alms and revenues, "gain from or remuneration for work done according to the Institute is also a legitimate source of material goods which are necessary for the support and life of Jesuits." The battle is joined on this point, too, and those opposed are calling for a two-thirds majority.

7) *The gratuity of ministries.* Five paragraphs explain how the gratuity of our ministries should be understood. The subcommission tries here to reconcile our law with the universal practices of a hundred years' standing, e.g., for Masses, our ministries (preaching, retreats, etc., cigars and tobacco for Fr. S.-A.). It speaks of stipends, emoluments, honoraria, grants, tuitions, etc. . . . Here again, a big discussion: past, present, and future.

8) *Foundations.* A decree on foundations (e.g., the *Actualité* foundation). The General has a mandate to establish the norms.

That is an overall view of the texts on poverty. The discussion will resume during the afternoon. People expect some sparks to fly, but the majority has had enough of these eternal theoretical and canonical discussions and is asking for a vote.

Subcommission IV: Spiritual life

This subcommission has presented us thus far with a twenty-page text on six different subjects: (1) Sacred Scripture and liturgy; (2) the Spiritual Exercises and the renovation triduum; (3) adapting the exercises of piety, especially meditation and examen; (4) litanies; (5) devotion to the Sacred Heart; (6) the spiritual teaching of St. Ignatius. This text has not yet come up for public discussion in the *aula.* It contains some very interesting considerations and a few new suggestions (e.g., with respect to litanies). I doubt that the Congregation has the time to adopt it at this present session, especially since certain people want more radical reforms in this area.

Subcommission VI: Tertianship

We have a single text of about five pages, but it reveals the disagreement within the subcommission. The reported opinions are not only different, but opposed. Some people had said to me that the text presented was both poor and uncompromising. The question of tertianship, it seems, is not mature . . . unless it is too much so.

July 5-6, 1965

Holiday!

Yesterday was Sunday, and it was the Fourth of July. All the Americans had taken flight from the Curia to go on a spree beneath the Star-spangled Banner, which the sirocco blowing in from the desert was covering with a thin coat of dust. About thirty other delegates had signed up to go on a pilgrimage to Assisi. All our Roman and Italian Jesuits had taken off to relax in their respective houses or elsewhere. . . . At the Curia, *we* were the only ones left, ". . . we who were not worn out, perhaps!" And then they announced to us that, in view of the relentless heat in Rome, an excursion had been organized to have dinner and spend the afternoon at Frascati, where Villa Cavaletti, the Curia's vacation villa, is located. At 10:00 A.M. we met at the Curia door, where a bus was waiting. The group was divided almost equally according to two languages, French and Spanish, with the first including the voices of three Canadians over and above three Belgians, three French, two Dutch, etc.

This Villa, where the Curia regularly spends two months in the summertime, is located twelve miles from Rome, 1300 feet above sea-level. At 11:00 we were there. During the ride, the news spread that there was a pool and that we could swim there. Our two Provincials, who have traveled the world and know how to shift for themselves in the most difficult moments, were more provident than I: they brought their bathing suits. As soon as we arrived, I asked about it, and it was true. The pool was waiting for us; they had just changed the water in our honor. Fr. Van der Brempt, the General's private secretary, ended up handing me something resembling a bathing suit, right there in the open, on our way to the pool.

It was a fantastic thing! I realize why the Greeks, at the time of the retreat of the 10,000, let out a shout on reaching the sea—at least according to the Xenophon we used to translate in school and in the juniorate—"Thalassa! Thalassa!" At long last—water! At last, water to bathe in! In nothing flat, habits were flying on all sides, and the whole gang—Assistants, provincials, vice-provincials, and ordinary civilians—jumped in the water.

This pool is egg-shaped. At one end the water is four or five feet deep, and between eight and ten feet deep at the other. It's deep enough for anyone who wants to dive in, and it's also good for any of us who want to sit on the edge and discuss the future of the Congregation (which everyone would like to have transferred to this place!). Finally, we dressed and went to dinner, where Fr. Bottereau, the superior of the Curia, was waiting for us. In the afternoon, we went through the same

ritual at the pool. At 7:00 P.M. we left the Villa and returned to the Roman furnace, which was hotter than ever!

Late news July 6, 1965

Disappointment! The vote on the end of the Congregation has been postponed. Some people are proposing instead to have another Congregation in three or five years. . . .

This morning, for the first time in three weeks, the thermometer went below 80° and is staying there (at least late this morning), with the result that life has become livable again, even at the pace of two four-hour sessions a day.

The debate on poverty

At present, we are at the height of the battle on poverty. For three hours yesterday afternoon the champions faced each other and exchanged blows. As I write about it, three images come to mind: a boxing match, a duel, or a tennis match. Since the first can be wrongly interpreted, I fall back on the other two.

The champions arrive on stage, take their place before the microphone, and begin by apologizing for the blow they are about to give: they don't wish to offend anyone, but the voice of conscience compels them to speak and to denounce the arguments used in the other camp. The historical investigation has not been exhaustive; they have forgotten, more or less deliberately, such and such a fact. It matters little that the document is 150 pages long; such and such a word coming from the original Spanish text has been omitted. If it has been left out by inadvertence, that's symptomatic of the unscientific quality of the whole document; if it happened deliberately, then I don't dare characterize conduct like this when the matter is so serious!

Having dealt his blow, the champion retires, and the other champion moves forward. We will soon celebrate, he says, the 150th anniversary of our dispensation in the matter of poverty. That will happen because some people who see only the letter of the law remain, at each congregation, stubbornly opposed to every change. They claim that they alone possess the truth in this domain and that their interpretation is the only possible interpretation. They appeal to Suárez, Sánchez, and the rest (I do not remember all of our illustrious commentators whom our canonists have summoned to their aid), but their interpretation remains doubtful, as they themselves admit. Therefore, it is time for the Congregation—which has the power to do so—to settle the question and give an authentic interpretation.

The first champion returns, even after having said that he would not come back and that he would retire like Achilles under his tent, and

insinuates that if a majority wants to relax the vow of poverty, he and some others intend to remain faithful to their vow as it was when they pronounced it. A lengthy indictment against the opposing judgment follows, an indictment which he sums up, before coming down from the rostrum, in these resounding words: "Illa sententia omnino sustineri non potest (That opinion is completely insupportable)."

In the middle of the debate between the champions, there are always a few innocents who intervene to say: Let the canonists and jurists come to an agreement among themselves and propose an acceptable solution to us. This question of poverty can't be settled by slashing away with arguments or literal interpretations. Our young Jesuits are expecting something else. They're expecting bread, and you're giving them stones! Bread—that is, something substantial, theological, spiritual, evangelical; stones—that is, your interminable discussions on the meaning of words, on what St. Ignatius meant, what the Spanish text means, and what the Latin text means, etc., etc.

Another one intervenes and says: With all these discussions, I realize that there's no longer anything certain in the matter of the vow of poverty. Now a vow about doubtful matter is invalid, and your vow is invalid for everybody!

Someone else gets up to add: All these discussions, leave me completely cold. I pronounced my vows as the Society understands them; and so if this Congregation finally succeeds in giving an authentic interpretation of the vow of poverty, I don't see why I should develop a problem of conscience from that.

In the midst of all this, I'm like a spectator watching a tennis match. Bang! and the ball goes to the right side; bang! and the ball is smashed back, and bang! bang! bang! My head goes to the right, then to the left, then to the right, and so on. The veterans—those who took part in previous congregations—tell me: You haven't seen anything. In 1957, it was ten times worse, and that lasted three weeks, without coming up with any solution. . . . This morning it starts again.

The Society behind the Iron Curtain

Last night after supper, we had a talk on the roof about the situation of the Society in Yugoslavia. For three quarters of an hour in complete darkness Fr. Ćurić (thirty-nine years old) spoke to us in Latin which came from the bottom of his heart, just as Fr. Dezza's Latin does. He had entitled his talk "Psychology of the Jesuits Behind the Iron Curtain." He was obviously speaking of his Province of Croatia. He summed up the situation in three words: *disorientatio, depressio,* and *diffidentia.* The war had been terrible for them, and the postwar situation even worse.

Most of their houses have been nationalized, and they live in small groups, shut in on themselves with no foreign contact, and constantly exposed to government interference. For example, after the Provincial Congregation in Zagreb, the Provincial and the rector were summoned by the minister of religion and were interrogated for hours about the antigovernment plot which the Jesuits had hatched during this meeting. For some time they had succeeded in publishing an unpretentious bulletin for youth. This sold fairly well. Government agents arrived to make an inquiry about it; they thought that the bulletin should have brought millions to the fathers and that, as a consequence, they should pay the government four million in taxes (which the fathers evidently did not have, since they sold the bulletin at cost).

The chief difficulty is their isolation. They get their training entirely within their own Province, do not have any specialists, and do not know in what way they should be different from the diocesan clergy, since the only works which are left to them are preaching and parishes. The government refuses to allow them to leave so that they could go to be trained on foreign soil, for it fears the new ideas they would be able to bring back. Till very recently Jesuit provincials had followed the policy of Cardinal Stepinac, that is, of having nothing to do with the government. But a new policy, which could be called peaceful coexistence, has been taking shape with the present young Provincial (thirty-nine years old). This, however, has not been clear sailing, neither on the part of the government, nor on that of the older Jesuits, who balk at it. The Provincial of Austria has offered to take the scholastics free of charge and train them in theology, but the government is opposed to it, and wants to keep its Jesuits just as they are. So that they might attend the General Congregation, long discussions were required, and interventions by the Vatican.

Frankly, in hearing the account of this drama, I realized that we are indeed privileged, and that if these Croatian Jesuits enjoyed the freedom which is ours, they undoubtedly would have made better use of it. . . . *O Fortunatos nimium. . . . Si bona sua norint*! (This ought to be something like what Virgil said.)

Commission V: Conservation and adaptation of the Institute

Under the chairmanship of Fr. Oñate, this commission has twenty-four members and is subdivided into five subcommissions. . . .

Subcommission II: Admission to the Society and to orders, and dismissal

We have three papers prepared on this subject: (1) admission and dismissal; (2) the vows at the end of the novitiate; (3) the fifth primary impediment, mental illness. No serious discussion.

Subcommission III: The distinction of grades

There are two lengthy papers on this subject of keeping or abolishing the grades of professed and spiritual coadjutors. Since this is a substantial of the Institute, it requires a favorable preliminary vote of the Congregation to take up this subject. The battle promises to be as hard and as long as that on poverty, for the two camps—one for keeping grades and the other for abolishing them—are amply provided with arguments and champions. We have had some skirmishes already, and the whole thing is going to pick up again this morning. Some people are going to fight to the death for keeping the professed, others are asking to have everybody professed, and others still are asking that we no longer have professed in the Society.

One father read us a long set of statistics showing that in the old Society—for example, in Italy—98% of the priests were professed (in 1770, just before the suppression), and the father added: The 2% left over must have been the unwell (*laborabant capite vel quadam infirmitate*). Proceeding from this fact, the father concluded: If 98% of the Jesuits could be professed in the old Society, why not in the new? I look at the Jesuits present at this Congregation, I listen to them speak and argue, and I say to myself: Really, they're not inferior to the Jesuits of the old Society; why, then, is only 40.7% of today's Society professed?

Another father told of the complaints of the coadjutors: I am not a true Jesuit, but half a Jesuit, a second-class Jesuit, a secondary member. The distinction smacks of aristocracy and has become entirely useless. The reasons people give for keeping the distinction are no longer worth anything today. . . .

At last, suggestions to remedy the situation are pouring in, but I doubt that we have the time to tackle them seriously.

July 7, 1965

La dolce vita

Before coming to serious things, some witty remarks of our fathers. Just after breakfast, two Americans were talking right next to the barbershop where Bro. S. A. (the Curia barber) sat enthroned. One of them asked the other: "Do you know who has the easiest job in the Society?" The second one offered him several suggestions: a teacher of a freshman class? a parish priest? a mission preacher?, etc., and ended up by admitting that he didn't know. Then the first one told him: "The breakfast cook in the Curia!" And he burst out laughing, for in the morning at breakfast in the Curia, except for the coffee, there's never anything hot, or if anyone does want something hot, it never comes out cooked.

The debate on poverty (continued)

The debate on poverty ended yesterday. Nevertheless, the vote will not be taken until later on in order to give everyone time for reflection. I draw your attention here to three interventions which provided a little humor in an otherwise dry debate.

One speaker came up to say: The provinces which are opposed to the proposed change and which are absolutely set on living on alms ought to stop relying on the help of the other provinces which live on the work of their members. Let them stop asking other provinces to educate their scholastics gratis. Let them no longer come around asking us to set up a central common fund where they'll be able to draw money, for the money that's going to supply this fund will be coming from a fruit forbidden to them, that is, from the revenues of the work done by members of the other provinces.

Another speaker deplored the fact that in the decree on poverty there is no mention of the *mercatura nigra*, that is, of the *black market*. And yet a number of Jesuits engage in it with no remorse of conscience and ask me to do as much, under the pretext of poverty. The same people make false customs declarations, always to preserve poverty. It's more important to put an end to these practices than it is to know whether the Spanish text or the Latin text should prevail in the interpretation of the vow of poverty.

A stout American mounted the rostrum and declared: "Civis Americanus sum et qua talis amo libertatem! (I'm an American citizen, and as such I love freedom!)," to the great joy of his audience. The American had had enough of these useless discussions, which were like so many chains tieing up our liberty and preventing us from taking action. We have to put an end to that. Freedom is a necessity for us, even for the practice of poverty. I end my appeal, he said, with these words of Patrick Henry: "Give us liberty or give us death!" The Congregation—dying—applauded this appeal to liberty.

Finally, the General took the floor to ask for prayers for the Congregation, which will have to make a historic decision. The vote will come later.

Duration of the Congregation: the vote

[WOODSTOCK LETTERS 95 (1966) 43]

Grades in the Society

We are not at the end of our afflictions, for we have fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire. After poverty, we are in a full-fledged marathon on keeping or abolishing grades (professed and spiritual coadjutors)

in the Society. The same champions oppose one another, with just about the same arguments. An old missionary came up to make a moving appeal. Many, he said, have not taken account of the seriousness of the crisis in the Society. The title of professed has become a subject for ridicule with many people. Even the professed are embarrassed by it and don't dare take advantage of it. We must abolish this title which divides the Society into classes, and we must do it immediately. This is urgent.

Another said: At my *ad gradum* examination, they asked me twenty questions on the Trinity, questions to which I had to answer in only one word: *ita vel non.* And that's why I'm professed today.

Another one said: The professed are supposed to make more sacrifices, but for the seven years that I've been professed, the only special sacrifice they've asked of me was to take part in this Congregation in Rome, with a black soutane in hot weather like this. (This was an Indian.)

One father got up and said: They're constantly referring us to St. Ignatius, to what he decided, while asking us to remain faithful to him. But you can't find out what St. Ignatius would have wanted for his Society in the twentieth century while paging through old texts, running back to Nadal or to Polanco or even to the *Spiritual Exercises.* This is something for us to find out in the present Congregation, we who have been formed by these Exercises and filled with the spirit of St. Ignatius. If we don't do it, we're unworthy of the present Society and of the work of restoration which has to be done.

Immediately the reply came: The father who spoke takes himself for a founder of the order and a restorer of the Society. But St. Ignatius had the help of the Holy Spirit, as the pontifical bulls tell us. Can the father say as much?

Another intervened and said that he was fed up listening to this sentimental argument that a great many spiritual coadjutors feel frustrated because they're not professed. *Scienti et volenti non fit iniuria,* he reminded them. Besides, doesn't this feeling of frustration also exist among the professed? Fr. Congar has written an article in *La Vie Spirituelle* in which he shows that every man coming to the middle of his life experiences this sense of frustration. The lieutenant colonel feels frustrated because he's not general (laughter in the *aula,* with everyone looking at Father General), the pastor because he's not bishop, the instructor because he's never been made professor, the inferior because he's never been superior, etc., etc. Why, then, attribute this feeling of frustration which some experience in the Society just to the distinction of grades? It's necessary to know how to accept one's limitations, etc.

After thirty or forty speeches, the General intervened:

"I say, speaking as a man, as a simple Jesuit, and not as General, that this is an extremely difficult question to solve. I'll tell you quite frankly that I don't clearly see the solution to be adopted. *Hodie non video.* I'm inclined to favor the proposal to set up a commission entrusted with the task of studying this whole problem and proposing to the next session of this Congregation a solution which will be at one and the same time prudent and bold. . . ."

July 8, 1965

Heat and intersession

Newsletter No. 12 contains some interesting things. You'll read there an appeal to your compassion for these poor Fathers Elector who have to work in the midst of the "very burdensome heat of this Roman summer, in which almost every day the temperature reaches 95° and sometimes 98.6°." To reassure you, I can tell you that for two days the temperature has been quite bearable and that I was even able to walk in town yesterday, something I had not done for a month.

In the same *Newsletter* you will find the text of our two decrees (those of our subcommission) on the social apostolate and the communications media. These are the first decrees to be finished, presented, and published.

It also informs you that the end of the present session will be on July 15, with this small note: this is something new, for a congregation has never yet had several sessions. We're making history! So far as I'm concerned, I believe this is the best solution. Otherwise, it would have been necessary to close up or leave some very important questions unresolved. Convinced that these questions were more important than all the reforms of government, I was growing impatient with some people's delaying and quibbling, and I wasn't alone. But now what happened to the conciliar schema on religious liberty will happen to these questions: an intermission of a year will allow us to do a much better job.

Democrat or republican?

Is the Society an aristocratic monarchy? One father tried to demonstrate this to us, apropos of keeping grades. He declared, amid grumblings of discontent in the *aula*, that St. Ignatius had set up an *aristocratic* monarchy and not a *democratic* monarchy and that it was time that they worked out the theology of grades in the Society.

That brought upon him this connoisseur's answer: The Society doesn't have a monarchical regime, but a presidential one, except that the president is elected for life. As for the theology of grades, it won't be

worth more than the theology of equality which I'm ready to undertake and to demonstrate to be the better one.

When the theologians get tangled in this, the sociologists have only to listen. . . .

The decree on studies

I have already given a résumé of the decree on the studies of Ours presented by Fr. Dezza in the name of the third commission. It is a long document—the longest presented thus far—covering the whole field of studies, from the novitiate until special studies. It's an amazing thing, but this document provoked almost no opposition nor did it give rise to much criticism in the *aula*. After it had received several observations, the commission presented its decree again without having changed very much at all. Father General had us vote on it yesterday in seven different votes, five on the substance of the question, a sixth, because a two-thirds majority was required, and a seventh, in order that the decree might be promulgated immediately and put into effect without delay.

I am not going back over the principal changes in the system of studies. I pointed them out in one of my previous letters (which drew some mild protests from Fr. Dezza when I told him that I had announced all this to Canada even before the vote—but the final outcome confirmed it all).

The seven votes received a favorable majority of more than 90%. Removing philosophy from the *ad gradum* examination is not, it seems, in accordance with the *Constitutions*, and a two-thirds majority was required, but passing that was as easy as dropping a letter in a mailbox. . . . Only one question has been asked: Is the decree retroactive in its scope, and can it be applied to those who have just taken their *ad grad* this year, so that, for example, they might get permission to retake it once? Fr. Dezza's response: "Decretum est pro futuro et habet nullam vim retroactivam (The decree is for the future and has no retroactive force)."

Jesuit spirituality for our time

The discussion on tertianship has touched on a crucial area. The two basic questions posed are: (1) What is the distinctive spirituality of the Society which must permeate us as Jesuits, especially in tertianship? (2) What is the place of the spiritual life, the Christian life in today's world?

In the subcommission on tertianship there were, it appears, as many opinions as there were members. This is a sign that we are in a period of transition and that lasting solutions are not readily available, although they are no less urgent and necessary.

The decree on the choice of ministries: charisms

This is a decree that gives the rules and norms to observe in choosing our ministries. I will return to this point later on. Here I point out only the topic of women. One father asked that the ministry on behalf of women not be excluded. They make very important decisions, are numerous, attentive, etc. Another father said: it is important to devote our attention to priests. It is strange that one provincial had to write fifty letters to find someone to give a priests' retreat and that five people, without anyone writing to them, offered to give a retreat to women. Evidently, there are some fathers who have the charism for the female apostolate!

The decree on the choice of ministries

This is a decree which commands attention, but it does not belong in the "great" category and only prepares the ground. The big question in this area is this: in these circumstances, can we do better? We are dragging along with our old ministries; is it necessary to keep these or to undertake new ones? The decree tries to give some general orientations: (a) some norms for renewal;. (b) provisions for updating; (c) fields of the apostolate especially recomended.

It was this third point which aroused the sharpest controversy, principally because the ministry for priests was not mentioned, nor were the missions. One speaker came up to the rostrum very excited and said: For ten years I worked with priests, and I was in the habit of joking that I was an *exclaustrated* Jesuit because I was living with the secular priests I worked with. But now look at this decree. It takes the joke seriously and doesn't even mention the ministry for priests as being one proper to the Society. Not only will I be an exclaustrated Jesuit, but I'll be one whose ministry has been ignored by the present Congregation, which is about to recommend teaching catechism to children and to young girls in the hope that one day, perhaps, one of these girls will marry the son of the emperor of Japan and exercise a great influence upon society!

Another mentioned the example of Fr. Capello, whose influence with the priests in Rome was immense and who performed this ministry with admirable zeal all his life.

Another was annoyed that the decree said nothing about the missions. And yet, he declared, all the professed who are here and even those who are not here have taken a fourth vow which commits them to go to the missions! Isn't that a ministry which merits at least a mention in the list presented by the commission?

A provincial came up and, alluding to the speech by the American who had called for freedom ("Civis Americanus sum et qua talis amo

libertatem"), declared: "Libertas, quamvis Americana, debet esse eadem omnibus." And then he served up the following syllogism for us: "Decretum est lex, et lex debet esse clara, praecisa, et de concretis, aut non est lex bona. Atqui hoc decretum non est clarum, nec praecisum nec de concretis. Ergo non est bonum decretum, nec bona lex."

Another one who came to make an indictment against the decree realized once he got to the microphone that he did not have the right glasses with him and that he could not read his text. He made desperate signs in the direction of his desk, and the second pair of glasses traveled a quarter of the room, passed from hand to hand, before reaching the speaker. He eagerly grabbed them and now could see clearly to read his text!

Finally, Father General made an intervention. The great problem the Society has to face at the present time, he said, is the problem of the selection of ministries. Many have complained that the decree is not concrete enough and doesn't give sufficiently precise directives. That's true. We're stating principles, we're formulating norms, but *in concreto*, are we prepared to go further? I don't think so. We don't have an adequate knowledge of today's world, its spiritual needs, and especially the ways, the methods, the means of meeting these needs. It isn't the principles that we lack, but the concrete adaptation of these principles. It will be necessary to reflect on that for years to come, perhaps for twenty or thirty years, before finding and formulating this adaptation of our ministries. So, despite its weak points, the decree presented to us remains necessary, necessary to stimulate research, investigation, study, etc.

The missions

The subcommission on the missions began its operations by presenting a brief text authorizing missionaries to return home occasionally. We discussed this yesterday. No one is opposed to it, but several people have raised the problem of expatriate Jesuits who are not living in a mission country—for example, the professors at the Gregorian, whose life, though it does not unfold amid the heathen, is apparently no less difficult. They should also have the right to return home occasionally, and the decree should extend to all those who labor outside their native country. A missionary from the Far East has just urged against too hasty action; the Chinese have a sense of self-sacrifice, too, and perhaps a more highly developed one than Westerners have. When they see Westerners allowing themselves long and costly trips to their native land, they cannot refrain from comparing their lot to that of the Westerners, because in the East they are asked to remain at their post,

with no opportunity to return home. There should be the same standard of justice and charity for all—for the Oriental Jesuits as well as for the Occidental.

The vote on the provincial congregation

Our provincial congregation: there's an institution which doesn't occur very often or make a lot of racket or prove to be too burdensome, and yet it seems that the criticisms of the Jesuits of the whole world have been heaped upon it! One might almost say that it has become like LaFontaine's donkey, "this hairless mangy thing, from which all evils come!" It has brought upon itself 146 *postulata*, eighty-six of which refer directly to the question of deciding which persons should take part in provincial congregations. In giving these statistics, the subcommission added: "Vix alia quaestio obtinuit tot postulata. Certe nulla alia quaestio obtinuit tot postulata ex congregationibus provincialibus (Hardly any other question has received so many *postulata*. Certainly no other question has received so many *postulata* from provincial congregations)."

This avalanche of *postulata* stirred up an adverse reaction. Many complained about the fact that any *postulatum* at all, even one not approved by a provincial congregation, is considered by the subcommissions as seriously as the *postulata* of the provincial congregations. I heard people mourning the fact that one subcommission spent a half hour studying a *postulatum* from a scholastic who later left the Society! If that's the way it is, they say, what use is a provincial congregation? People aren't taking account of the study which it has made of the *postulata*; anybody at all can send anything to a general congregation, and the general congregation wears itself out giving responses to the most preposterous demands!

The reaction to this subject goes even so far that one *postulatum* has been received asking that they bring to their senses all these disturbers and critics who burden the Society: from its present 35,000 members, the Society will gain by being reduced to 20,000; let them name Visitors to travel through the provinces and throw out these undersirable elements! (There was only one *postulatum* like that.)

The big complaint about the provincial congregation is that it has been a gerontocracy. The subcommission's report, far from refuting this accusation, confirms it in two key sentences: "Hodie in pluribus provinciis patres professi infra aetatem 60 . . . annorum a congregationi provinciali excluduntur *quia nimis iuvenes sunt* (Nowadays, in many provinces professed fathers under the age of sixty are excluded from the provincial congregation *because they are too young*)." The report adds: The letter of the decree has been kept, but its basis in the *Constitutions*

(which call for the participation of all the professed) has been upset. Thus, for example, in the Province of New England, there are 292 professed, and those who took their final vows on August 15, 1939, are still too young to take part in the Provincial Congregation. The same thing is true in New York, where there are 267 professed, and where the youngest to participate in its Congregation took his final vows on August 15, 1940. It is clear that such a situation cannot continue.

In its report to the General Congregation, the subcommission expressed itself on three points: (1) it is necessary to reform the present legislation; (2) it is necessary, in spite of all, to keep a certain limitation on the number of participants; (3) three norms are proposed to the Congregation with a view to limiting the number: (*a*) to set an age limit, e.g., 65 or 70 years; (*b*) to set an average, e.g., 50 years, and choose as many members below that age as above, (*c*) to hold a previous election of the members of the provincial congregation.

These proposals have come before the Congregation for discussion and voting. There are supporters of the present situation, which the others call gerontocracy. They are opposed to the subcommission's proposals. And then there are the supporters of a reform based on democracy. My second neighbor over, who is fiercely democratic, before going to the microphone to defend his thesis, fortified himself like the hero of *Peanuts* saying to himself: "*Grit your teeth, Charlie Brown*!" and doing just that. Let people, he said, stop glorifying the wisdom of old men taking part in the congregation. Let them stop making age the supreme criterion for participation. I ask you: in the Bible, how old were those who had the chaste Susanna condemned, and how old was the one who had her freed and who restored justice? Where's the wisdom, and where's the virtue—in the first or the second case?

But the champion for the other side got up and strongly denounced the evils of electoralism in the Society: St. Ignatius didn't want it; you're going to introduce a factor for discord, division, disorders, violations of charity, etc., with your idea of election. The Society is not a democracy, etc., etc.

Yesterday was the decisive day. But the whole thing did not take place without difficulty. Some fathers came to the microphone to ask to have the vote postponed until later and to have a new formal inquiry made. The General had to put two preliminary questions to the Congregation:

1) Does the General Congregation wish to vote *today* on this question? Answer: Yes (by a heavy majority).

2) Does the General Congregation wish to vote *according to the*

formal inquiry prepared by the subcommission? Answer: Yes (by a heavy majority).

With these obstacles removed, all that had to be done was to put to a vote the five questions already prepared:

1) Does the General Congregation wish to reform the present legislation on this point? Answer: Yes (95%).

2) Does the General Congregation wish to keep a certain age limit with respect to the number of professed called to the provincial congregation? Answer: Yes (95%).

3) Does the General Congregation wish to retain the norm of *seniority of profession*, but with an age limit? Answer: No (by a strong majority).

4) Does the General Congregation wish to keep the norm of an average age, or, in Latin, "criterium aliquod distributionis iuxta aetates"? Answer: No (but by a weak majority).

5) Does the General Congregation wish to accept the norm of a previous election? Answer: Yes (but by a small majority).

And there we have it: those taking part in the next provincial congregation will be *elected*. Only two things still have to be decided: (*a*) Who will be eligible? (*b*) Who will be the electors? Only the professed, or the professed and the spiritual coadjutors? The questions will be settled either today or Monday. The wind is blowing toward democracy! There will be other surprises.

July 12, 1965

Ah! these reporters . . .

When I went to the newspaper room yesterday, I saw a whole group of Americans around one of the newspapers, and they were carrying on a spirited conversation. They were pointing at an article in the New York *Herald Tribune* and roaring with laughter. I edged my way in and got my chance to read the bold headline of the article: "Deadlocked Jesuits Adjourn Assembly, 1st Time in History." I couldn't get over it; where did they get that? Some time later, I read the first paragraph: "The world assembly of Jesuit leaders failed in two months of closed sessions to agree on a streamlining of their Order and announced today they were adjourning their meetings until next year. The adjournment, the first in 425 years and 38 [sic] General Congregations of the influential Order. . . ." The rest is cut from the same cloth. . . . How they can be wrong and mislead their readers! Not only is there no deadlock at the Congregation, but the principal deadlock of all the previous congregations has just been cleared . . . and now the way is open.

The votes on poverty

Saturday, July 10, was a historic day for all: the Congregation has at last made its decision on the text *De paupertate*. That was not easy; right up to the last minute, people were afraid that the Congregation would be prevented from voting. Some continual and very strong pressure, they tell me, had been exerted on Father General to have him postpone the vote until the second session. The day before, when we were walking with Fr. Delchard, the subcommission's chairman and *relator*, we had spurred him on and even got him fired up so that he would be in good form. The poor father has been here for a year, and he has been constantly immersed in the *De paupertate* decree. Some days he was very optimistic, and on other days pessimistic. He was exhausted, but in the Congregation he has been superb. The General, to begin with, asked him to come and once again explain the decree he was presenting. He did it with confidence and clarity. If the Society refuses to approve this decree, he said, then we fall back to the zero mark. All the work accomplished by the commission named in 1957 by the 30th General Congregation will become useless, all our work for six months will have been in vain, and we will be at an impasse once again, forced to ask for dispensations from the Sovereign Pontiff and to live in hypocrisy. The present Congregation has the opportunity and the power to rule definitively on this problem which the 30th General Congregation in particular ran into. It can do this, and it should do it.

Good fellow that he is, he added: On certain points, a two-thirds majority is not required, but for some members' peace of conscience, I am prepared to agree to having someone put to the Congregation the question of knowing if it wants a qualified majority.

But the opposition did not lay down their arms. One father got up and said: A two-thirds majority is not only permitted, but obligatory and necessary, for we're limiting the vow of poverty. Fr. Delchard answered: We're not limiting it. We're only giving an authentic interpretation of the content of this vow. The opposition retorted: In an authentic declaration of a law, two things have to be distinguished: the *doctrinal* power and the *disciplinary* power; if the Congregation has the *disciplinary* power, it doesn't have the *doctrinal* power, which is dependent on the Holy See. Fr. Delchard came back to the microphone: The Congregation is supreme when it *legislates*, and this is what it is doing at the present moment. It is not a question of exercising a doctrinal power.

Another stood up and wanted to remove a sentence from the decree. In a spirit of conciliation, Fr. Delchard was prepared to withdraw this sentence, which was not essential, but some voices made themselves heard in protest. Someone else intervened and wanted to have the word

eleemosynae (alms) added in the text to reassure consciences. Once again Fr. Delchard was prepared to yield, although the addition seemed useless to him, but others were opposed to this addition.

Finally, with all the obstacles removed, it was time for the vote, or rather for the votes, for with the preliminary votes to find out if the Congregation was to make its decision now and if it demanded two-thirds majorities for such and such a paragraph, it required fifteen distinct votes to get the decree passed. Now, the big revelation of these votes has been the numerical unimportance of those opposing the decree on poverty. During the fifteen votes, the proportion of those opposed never exceeded 10% of the members of the Congregation, and several times it was only 5%. For a number of us, I repeat, this vote was a complete revelation, for right to the end people were asking themselves what the real numerical strength of those opposed was. You should realize that they included some big names and formidable antagonists—canonists, lawyers, well-known theologians, etc. For my part, up until now I have refrained from speaking of a minority and a majority, but in view of the facts I must acknowledge that a minority of less than 10% effectively blocked, by its labor, its tenaciousness, its repeated interventions, and its pressure tactics, all progress in this question of poverty.

The question has been settled juridically: in the future our law will be in accord with our way of acting, and we will no longer have to beg periodically for dispensations from the Holy See. Furthermore, the accent has been put on work rather than alms as a source of revenue for each one. The sign for the future is: "Let everyone earn his living." Teilhard, it seems, has already said that the great sin of monks is laziness. That's why they are so legalistic and moralistic. I read something of an analogy to this in a review of Marc Oraison's book *Une morale pour notre temps*: It seems that too many clerics are still at the pre-oedipal stage.

Day of glory

I return to our Fr. Delchard. After the fifteenth vote on poverty, with the whole thing now accepted by the Congregation by a huge majority, spontaneous applause broke out in Fr. Delchard's direction. The signal came from the rear of the *aula*, that is, from the young guard of professed who were in the "gallery" or "paradise." (I myself have a place in the middle of the hall, since I'm already around the midpoint in the age-spread.) For some time, this young guard had been getting noisy, carrying on conversations, and making bets. The big project was to track down which people were the opponents, the ones who were voting "red," that is, *non placet*. The first to succeed in saying the name

corresponding to the red light would win the prize. I have to say that these are the very recently professed—a year, or two or three years—and that this indeed influences their behavior.

During the fifteen-minute break, people surrounded Fr. Delchard to congratulate him, a maneuver that continued until the collation, where a whole circle formed about him, with Father General himself coming up to him to offer his congratulations, and everyone holding his bottle of Pepsi on high. Around me, some fathers who had taken part in the 30th General Congregation admitted that the climate has completely changed and that the present Congregation succeeded on the very point where the previous one had failed. Even if the 31st had accomplished only that, they added, it would have still done more than the 30th! We went back up to the *aula* for the end of the session, surrounding Fr. Delchard and singing: "The day of glory has come!" Unassuming Fr. Delchard declared: "This Congregation has accomplished more than any other one for 400 years!"

The congregation of procurators

[WOODSTOCK LETTERS 95 (1966) 49-50]

Debate and vote on the provincials

If one were to judge by the debate and the vote on this subject, provincials do not present an exciting topic for discussion. The whole thing was a reflection of their own image: calm, dignified, level-headed, restrained. They obtained a great deal with almost no struggle. In the many *postulata* which concerned them, the greater part of them requested an increase in their powers, in the name of decentralization and the principle of subsidiarity. Eight *postulata*, for example, asked that, in the future, permission to smoke be dependent on the provincial. On the other hand, some insisted that their consultations be more frequent, more numerous, and above all, more representative (e.g., one asked to have the brothers and the scholastics take part in the provincial consultations which concern them). The *postulata* concerned with the socius wanted him to have active voice at the provincial congregation, to be distinct from the provincial's admonitor, and to be named for a definite term.

The subcommission in charge of studying these requests had presented a favorable report in almost all cases. After a very brief debate, in which only one elector was opposed to the increase of the powers of the provincials on a plea that they were already inclined to autocracy, the Congregation came to a decision in a whole series of votes. In fact,

it took ten votes to settle the questions on the offices of provincial and socius. In general, the Congregation allowed the General to communicate to the provincials broader powers in the following matters:

1) approval of plane for putting up buildings;
2) sending scholastics to regency before philosophy;
3) admission of formed coadjutors to final vows;
4) appointing superiors of smaller houses;
5) temporary return of missionaries;
6) journeys outside the assistancy;
7) journeys to Rome; journeys to one's family;
8) permission to use tobacco;
9) postponing tertianship;
10) faculty to offer Mass without a server; etc.

The Congregation also approved a recommendation to Father General that he have a provincial come to Rome after he has been in office for some time. It also approved a greater frequency in provincial consultations, "et iuxta res tractandas apud consultationes adsint patres vel fratres qui iuvare possint (and, according to the topics to be treated, fathers or brothers who can be of assistance should be present at the consultations)."

Finally, it turned its attention to the socius. By a 98% majority, it decided that the socius need not be the provincial's admonitor. Its reason: "Saepe valde iuvenis est ut fiduciam aliorum et auctoritatem convenientes ad munum admonitoris implendum habeat." And by a *unanimous* vote (an extremely rare happening), it changed decree 75, parapraph 3, in this sense, that the letters of the provincial's admonitor are no longer subject to censorship by the provincial. You see that there's nothing to get excited about here!

The vote on the distinction of grades

[WOODSTOCK LETTERS 95 (1966) 58-59]

Debate on the coadjutor brothers

I have already said something about the document presented to the Congregation on the coadjutor brothers. Proceeding from the seventy-eight *postulata* on the brothers, forty-one of which came from provincial congregations, the subcommission has handed us a long report filled with statistics showing the steady decrease in the number of brothers in the Society. In the seventeenth century they formed 30% of the total, in the nineteenth century, 27%, and now no more than 16%. In 1900 there were six brothers for every ten priests; now (in 1964) there are only 2.9. They estimate that the optimum number ought to be between

a quarter and a third of the members of the Society. The figure of 16% shows that the problem is serious and that something has to be done.

The report continues with long disquisitions on the thought of St. Ignatius, on the decrees of previous congregations, etc. Finally, the subcommission presents its two decrees separately: the first, on the brothers in general; the second, on the diaconate in the Society. These two decrees, now submitted to the Congregation, have given rise to a great number of comments and a long debate in the *aula*, the longest after those on the length of the general's term and on poverty. I will give you some of the interventions in loose form.

One father was against having brothers be prefects of discipline in the schools: they are not prepared for that. He did not want to have a brother as minister in his house, either, nor did he want to have brothers made deacons: that's going to change the nature of the brothers and create two categories of brothers, the clerics and the lay brothers. When you have brothers who are deacons, he said, and they leave the Society, what bishop will want to accept them?

Another launched into a stirring speech in favor of those good brothers who are *ad domestica*. Some fathers speak of them as if they were dealing with an "extinct theological species," while in his province, to him (this was a provincial), they were "a living and blessed species."

Another member asked the question of whether the priests should always have a privileged place at table. Granting their priesthood, we understand that such a place is reserved for them in church or in liturgical functions, but the dining room is a place where the religious family gathers, and, except for the superior, no one should have a privileged place. One other father went a step further on this subject: All these customs of precedence are disappearing and are accepted less and less in our society. Thirty years ago, for example, it would have been unacceptable for Father General to come quite simply to have his coffee or his Pepsi with us and as one of our number (prolonged applause in the *aula*; the General lifted his arms and gestured in the direction of the speaker), but now we find that completely natural and brotherly on the part of our Father General (renewed applause in the *aula*).

Another father did not want them to associate the decree on the brothers with the one on the deacons. He did not like having these three orders in the Society: the priests, the deacons, and the laymen. In that case, he asked, why not establish scholastic deacons?

Another called for a postponement of the decree. Addressing the Congregation, he asked: How many brothers do you have who are capable of being teachers, treasurers, ministers, or deacons? People hope to attract brothers to the Society by passing such a decree, but those

who have the vocation to teach will go rather to the communities of teaching brothers, where they can be teachers, directors of schools, superiors, provincials, and even general. It is not at all necessary to pass a new decree in order to allow a brother to be a teacher or a treasurer.

A master of novices came forward and said: Seven years ago I was Father Master of the brothers, and I thank heaven for it. During that period I received a great many young men who already had a technical and professional training, and I assured them that they would be able to use their talents in the Society. The present decree confirms that assurance. If you block it, then that will be equivalent to saying that I was mistaken and that the Congregation disapproves of me. I will accept it, but in our country we will have no more vocations to the brothers. Those who have a vocation to the contemplative life enter the monastic orders, not ours. . . .

The second session, the general's term, tertianship

[WOODSTOCK LETTERS 95 (1966) 66-67]

The parish ministry

At first sight, one can ask why we should initiate a debate on the parish ministry. It is by virtue of our *Constitutions* that we are forbidden to accept parishes. But now the fact is there: we have parishes, and many of them. This reveals the same situation as in the matter of poverty: the facts contradict the law. Hence numerous *postulata* asked the present Congregation to examine this question.

According to the report submitted to us, the prohibition against accepting parishes was based originally on two reasons: (1) the need to safeguard Jesuit mobility and freedom of the apostolate; (2) the determination not to go against poverty: according to our vows, we cannot have fixed revenues, and benefices have been or are attached to parishes.

Do these reasons still have merit today? The commission has doubts about it and offers a text which, while recalling the original prohibition, authorizes the General to extend and multiply the cases where it will be allowed to accept parishes. These are not all alike throughout the whole world. In many places, they are much more a service and a trust than a source of fixed revenue. They are no longer opposed to Jesuit mobility and freedom, for pastors and curates can always be easily changed by the provincial.

The commission appealed to statistics to support its request. Jesuits have 1228 parishes throughout the world, 350 of which are outside of mission territories. That is the extent of the exception to our general

rule. Therefore, it would be proper to resolve this question. In several countries, Jesuits can exercise their ministries only in and through the parish. The bishops do not like to authorize residences with a chapel but without a parish. That causes difficulties with the secular clergy, while a parish allows us to enter into contact with the diocesan clergy, to collaborate with them, and to carry on a more universal apostolate. Finally, nowadays the parish ministry can become a truly missionary instrument and a means well suited for spreading the faith and forming this part of the people of God which the Church entrusts to us—forming in particular lay apostles and promoting priestly and religious vocations.

Some statistics on the parishes follow, arranged according to assistancies. There are more of them in mission countries—for example, in the Indian and Far Eastern Assistancies. The English Assistancy has sixty-five parishes (England: 21; Australia: 7; Upper Canda: 8; Ireland: 2; Montreal: 3; Quebec: 1; missions attached to the English Province: 23).

Little that was new was brought forth in the discussion. One speaker wanted the decree to go further and openly acknowledge the parish ministry as one of the Society's ministries. In mission countries, the parishes are necessary for implanting the Church. They are an effective instrument of evangelization, an example of poverty, a means for making converts.

Another said: People are objecting to the loss of mobility, but every Jesuit who receives an appointment—a professor of theology, of canon law, of philosophy, or a superior of a house, etc.—also loses his mobility. Moreover, mobility in itself is not a virtue.

Another speaker went into detail: If in England the present relations between Jesuits and the secular clergy are so good, the reason for it is that we are working with the secular priests in the same parish ministry.

As of today, the vote has not been taken on this question.

July 15, 1965
(morning)

Publicity service

I point out in passing that the latest issues of *Relations*, which I distributed to the common tables on the different floors, are making a good impression. This is good propaganda; several people have thus discovered *Relations* and have spoken to me about it, even some Americans. *America* was available each week on our floor. Fr. Calvez left past issues of *Revue de l'Action Populaire* on several tables. Frs. Tucci and Giuliani adopted another method: they distributed the new issues of

their magazines, *La Civiltà Cattolica* and *Études*, to those they felt were interested. Finally, without anyone ever being able to find out by whom or how, *Time* has appeared every week on our table (the latest issue modestly turned facedown in order not to shock the innocent glances of the Curia).

The decree on atheism

I have not yet had an opportunity to talk about the decree on atheism, which has been adopted for a good week now. The starting point was the Pope's allocution, in which he entrusted the Society with the special mission of opposing atheism. How was such a mission to be interpreted? Was it necessary to go to war, and to bring up our armor and our battalions? Commission VI, which had the task of defining the mission more explicitly, provided the Congregation with a preliminary text. It treated four points: (1) the mission entrusted by the Sovereign Pontiff; (2) the knowledge required of modern atheism; (3) the difficulties which are put forward against faith in God, and the means of resolving them; (4) the conditions to be observed in the formation of Jesuits and in the selection of ministries.

The commission received many comments. Some wanted something more impressive, e.g., a letter by the General to the whole Society. Others asked for a historical justification: a short time ago, the Society was devoted to working for the acceptance of the Council of Trent and opposing the Reformation; today, it should devote itself to the work of the Second Vatican Council and turn towards the enemy of the hour, which is atheism. Some others wanted the commission to point out that a third of humanity is oppressed by atheist tyranny and that it is our duty to come to their aid. Others wanted it to say that the reason for the success of Communism and atheism is social injustice: a large percentage of the human race lives in a subhuman state, and it listens to the voice of the Communists, who accuse the Catholic Church of being chiefly responsible for these injustices.

One speaker made the observation that the idea of God must be dealt with with great discretion, for it varies from person to person and from country to country. When Sartre denies God, is it really the true God whom he's denying? Another speaker wanted the document to put more stress on the development among men of the awareness of God. Christians have to show that the Gospel of Christ is truly a salutary message for man. Let us insist upon a life lived according to the Gospel in poverty, humility, chastity, and above all, charity and union with God. A father from Latin America added: Since almost everywhere today the secular universities are centers for the development and diffu-

sion of modern atheism, we must state explicitly that Jesuits should, insofar as possible, strive to enter and work in these universities. Another speaker asked that the philosophy of Marxism be explained and subjected to careful evaluation in our schools and universities, not, however, for purposes of anti-Communist propaganda, but with the aim of a scientific and critical exposition.

After all these comments, the commission redid its decree and presented it again under the title *De munere Societatis erga atheismum.* When it was put to a vote, this decree was adopted by a 95% majority.

Spiritual life in the Society

The declarations and decrees on the spiritual life occasioned much debate in the *aula.* It was understood that everything was being presented merely to find out the thinking of the Congregation on the matter, and that there would be no vote at this session. In a preliminary report, the subcommission assigned to study these questions had divided them into six sections:

1) *The Bible and the liturgy:* the subcommission recommends using the new forms of liturgical celebration; it favors concelebration, authorizes that Compline and evening examen be combined, and asks that in each province there be an expert in liturgy.

2) *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius:* the twenty-three *postulata* touching on this question either suggest or request the creation of a commission or a center for the Exercises, as a "Directory"; they also ask that one be able to make the annual retreat in six or five days, or at two times during the year, and in private even for the coadjutor brothers and the scholastics, etc. The subcommission proposes the creation of a Center and leaves the rest to Father General.

3) *The triduum of renovation of vows:* some *postulata* ask for changes: this whole manner of renovation is outdated, old-fashioned, and formalistic. The subcommission ventures to make no pronouncements and leaves all to the good judgment of the General.

4) *The adaptation of the exercises of piety:* many *postulata* deal with this point, some to demand adaptation and more flexibility, others to urge the observance of exercises of piety which may be in disuse. The subcommission makes some general recommendations:

a) concerning mental prayer and the examination of conscience: twenty-seven *postulata* treat these topics. Some ask that the time and duration not be changed, others that they *be* changed: one half-hour of meditation in the morning, the other half-hour in the evening; or even reduce the whole thing to one half-hour. As for the examination of conscience at noon, it ought to be done away with; it is almost

impossible to make in the midst of other work and activity. The reasons given: weakness of nerves, especially among the young; the great diversity of persons; the demands and the number of studies and ministries, etc.

The subcommission realizes that there are two opinions in the Society: (1) there is no need for a fixed hour of prayer; (2) the duration of prayer must be determined.

Accordingly, it proposes three solutions (1) that the regulation of an entire hour be abrogated, and the prescriptions of the *Constitutions* which refuse to determine the length of prayer be followed instead; (2) that the rule continue as it is—that is, a full hour for prayer—but that superiors and spiritual fathers allow for adaptations; (3) that the entire hour be kept, but as a directive norm, "pedagogice applicanda a superioribus."

b) *concerning litanies:* some ask that they be eliminated, others that they be replaced by some other community prayers. The subcommission simply proposes "preces communes rectandae."

5) *Devotion to the Sacred Heart:* there was no time to discuss this.

6) *A better knowledge of the spiritual doctrine of St. Ignatius:* no time.

This first report of the subcommission on the spiritual life prompted such a deluge of comments that it would be impossible to mention them all. The following are a sample of the remarks made in the *aula.* One delegate said: The *postulata* show a tendency to lessen the time given to exercises of piety; it is a new phenomenon in the Society, a fact for which causes will have to be sought out. Another: People are talking a great deal about a spiritual crisis, but isn't the greatest cause of this a loss of union with Christ? Unless all of our activity rests on the rock of our spiritual life, we will have built upon sand. All our bric-a-brac of formulas will never be able to replace the union with God acquired in prayer. Another: We ought to be "contemplativi in actione"; that we are in action is certain; that we are contemplatives, "hoc dubitandum est." We ought to make an hour of meditation, but *do* we? Many do not because they go to bed too late, look at television too long, etc. There are some who can talk for hours with their friends, but cannot talk with God. Someone noted that only 20% of the fathers make their hour of meditation, but in the time of St. Ignatius they went to the other extreme: they wanted to make two hours of meditation a day. Another: people today talk a great deal about dialogue, but shouldn't the first dialogue one engages in be with God?

Another: The spirit of prayer in the Society is weakening, hence there

is a desire to lessen the hour of meditation. But St. Ignatius has given us the rule not to change anything in time of desolation, so let us not change anything today. Another asks: Are those Jesuits who do not make an entire hour of meditation worse religious than those who do? Who can say this with assurance? A less juridical solution which takes into consideration freedom and responsibility would be more valuable. All our rules and decrees are like so many brakes; but for the vehicle to go forward it also needs a motor. The questions elicited their response: Those who lay blame on the juridical, on rules, lack realism. Consider attendance at services on Sunday in the different religions; it is among Catholics, where there is a fixed law, that attendance is most numerous. You have spoken of brakes and a motor, "sed ubi est gazolina?" It is those who pray the most who have the most developed sense of their responsibilities. Our times need men of prayer; to shorten the hour of meditation would not be an *aggiornamento*, but rather a *procrastinatio*, a lagging behind.

Another one said: The Buddhists pray for hours, and we Jesuits can't pray an hour a day; it's a disgrace! Another came forward: This is the image of the Jesuit which emerges from the *postulata* on prayer: it is that of a religious who wants to cut down on his prayer, no longer make his examinations of conscience, say Mass when it pleases him, eliminate litanies, obey when he wishes, and who believes that all can be saved regardless of what religion they belong to! If there is a problem, the time spent in spiritual exercises should be doubled, not lessened. If you don't decide on a fixed amount of time, how many are going to pray? If they sleep during prayer, it is because they have not slept enough during the night. Everyone should have seven hours of sleep a night, "et nos melius orabimus." Another said: St. Ignatius was opposed to a set amount of time for formed Jesuits. Someone just remarked that a good Jesuit ought to apportion his day between prayer and secular activities. I don't agree with that. There ought to be nothing secular for a Jesuit, nor anything purely human. We ought to pray twenty-four hours a day; there should be no dichotomy between prayer and work. I don't agree with Jesuits who want to reserve time to pray to God, and who don't want to work for their neighbor. Prayer and union with God should by no means be confused; the latter is much more extensive. One has to force himself to find God in all things. For example, we have worked together for two months at this great task of the Congregation; I hope that we have also found God here.

Another comes to the defence of the guardians of recreation, who are too busy to find time to make a continuous hour of meditation. If there are any in the *aula*, he says, who have experienced this, let them come

forward and confirm what I say. Another says the same of professors in the schools and colleges: They have obligations to their students and must consider the good of the latter before their own.

Another: Those who faithfully make their hour of prayer are not always those who are the most charitable and agreeable companions. I know some who are very strict on this point, but who are a source of discord in the community because of their unpleasantness. Another: There is much talk of spiritual crisis in the Society. So much the better if we are in a state of crisis: "Vae nobis si crisis non haberetur!" St. Ignatius tells us that if one making the Exercises experiences neither consolation nor desolation, the director ought to question whether the retreatant is making the Exercises properly. Another: For whom are you going to approve this decree? Superiors, provincials, professors at the Gregorian, everybody in the Curia—all these live ordered lives and can easily allow themselves a continuous hour of prayer, but we who are involved in active ministries, in the parishes, colleges, etc., how can we do this? Finally, they tell us: The question of an hour is secondary; the important thing is the meaning we give to prayer. It is not the time which is lacking, but the internal experience, the appreciation. One who has experienced this latter cannot help but pray, just as lungs cannot help but breathe. To acquire this inclination, this experience of prayer, is essential; for Jesuits who do not pray, it will do no good to issue a new decree obliging them to pray. The remedy lies not in legislation ("legislatio est inimica orationi"), but in interior and personal convictions.

The discussion was then terminated for lack of time; it will be taken up again at the next session.

The debate on simultaneous translation

Several people had asked to have the question of simultaneou translation studied so that each one could express himself in his mother-tongue (at least in the principal languages spoken). The subcommission entrusted with this had come out in favor of a trial run. It suggested the use of three languages in addition to Latin: English, French, and Spanish. After some investigation, it came to the conclusion that they could rent all the needed equipment for 100,000 lire a day or buy it for around 6,000,000 lire. As for the translators, it suggested taking fathers or scholastics who had a thorough command of languages.

The question came up on the floor again at the end of the session. The objectors had multiplied: we won't find competent translators, the cost will be too great, Latin is good enough, simultaneous translation will encourage the windbags: "Timeo Danaos . . . timeo loquaces qui se non praepararent ad interventionem in aula faciendam." After many

interventions, especially ones against, the vote was taken:

1) Does the General Congregation want to introduce simultaneous translation at the next session? Answer: No.

2) Does the General Congregation want to entrust to the General a study of this whole question for the next General Congregation? Answer: Yes.

Farewell Show

Since many of the delegates are leaving the house this afternoon, last night we had a farewell party. Fr. de Sobrino had organized some folklore festivities. To begin with, the Americans came up to sing a few popular songs with words appropriate to the Congregation. For example, they recalled the principal phases of the Congregation to the tune of "John Brown is dead," and everyone joined in the chorus. Fr. Bru of France told us a few tales of his own invention. The Flemish Provincial of Belgium presented us with a trio of very fine voices, including that of our Assistant, Fr. Snoeck. One father did imitations of the speakers at the Congregation, with as much success as our Fr. Burns. Fr. Divarkar, an Indian, gave us a satire on the interventions in the *aula*, which won him warm applause. (I hope to get the text; it's a gem for the connoisseurs!)

At last, the General himself performed. Asked to sing, he came up to the microphone (this affair was being held on the Curia roof, with lights, microphone, and loudspeaker) and said: "Placetne Congregationi Generali ut cantet Generalis? (Does the General Congregation want the General to sing?)." Everyone applauded and said: "Placet." And the General added: "Accendantur lumina!" He sang us a Basque song—of which I understood nothing, except that the singer has a fine, cultivated voice. For an encore he sang a Japanese song—also completely incomprehensible, except that the singer has a very flexible voice well suited for expressing Oriental laments.

While I'm on this subject, I point out once again the quality he has of mixing with people easily and of putting them as ease. He is a very good mixer. Above all, he has the means for doing this, that is, he can speak each one's language, which is extremely important for a general. If there are any young Canadians who aspire to being general, let them learn languages: besides English and French, Spanish is necessary, Italian is useful, and German can help.

As the finale, the Provincial of Rome sang "Quanto sei bella, Roma!"

July 15, 1965
(9:30 P.M.)

The last moments

I was not thinking of returning to the typewriter, but before going to bed I have left myself a little time to put a finishing touch to my series of letters on the Congregation. Three events are worth mentioning for the day now ending.

The closing session

The final session took place this morning at ten. No discussions and no interventions, but only a series of votes to put everything in order, especially for the second session. Then the oldest professed, Fr. Ascona, the Spanish Assistant, expressed the customary thanksgiving. Finally, the General took the floor to thank and congratulate everyone for the work done.[6]

A visit by Cardinal Antoniutti

Before we broke up, the General announced that His Eminence Cardinal Antoniutti, prefect of the Congregation of Religious, had accepted an invitation to dine with us. (The General had also invited Cardinal Bea, but he was not feeling well and could not come.) At dinner we had the same ceremonial as when the Master General of the Dominicans came. The two tables of honor were put together; Cardinal Antoniutti and the General were in the center, with Frs. Swain and Dezza and two others alongside. All through the meal the General chatted with the Cardinal as with an old friend. (I note in passing that this was a big "first" so far as the opulence of the meal is concerned—something not to be sneezed at, since gastronomical opulence is a rare thing at the Curia.)

At the end of the meal, the Cardinal spoke: he had brought with him a menu of a meal he had had with the Jesuits in 1938 when he was apostolic delegate in Spain and the Society had just been restored after the civil war. "I have in my hands," he said, "the parchment on which the fate of the Society depends, and that surely gives me a certain amount of importance. I have come here for the closing of your Congregation more as a friend than as prefect of the Congregation of Religious, for I have very good friends among the Jesuits, especially in Spain and in Canada. I urge you to fight the good fight, as in the past, for God and the Church."

In response, the General made the observation that because so many pages had to be printed at the end of the Congregation, there was no time to print a menu like the one in Spain, but the welcome is just as

[6] See Woodstock Letters 95 (1966) 70-71.

warmhearted. We are at the service of the Church and the Sovereign Pontiff. Our whole Congregation has labored only to find the best ways of fulfilling our task and this service.

On TV

At 9:15 tonight someone came to the recreation room and told us: "Father General is speaking on television about the Congregation." They turned in the station just in time. The announcer explained the session which the Jesuits had just held and then turned it over to Father General. Fr. Dezza, who was there beside me, said: "He's going to speak Italian." The General did, in fact, speak Italian, but he followed a carefully prepared text. No questions were asked. He simply explained what took place at the first session and announced that the second session would be devoted to the spiritual life. . . . It was brief, but clear and impressive.

And that's where I'll end my correspondence! I would have liked to draw up a balance-sheet of the whole session, but there's no time. I have to pack my bags and throw out a few tons of paper before leaving. . . .

APPENDIX

The text of Fr. Divarkar's contribution to the Farewell Show on July 14, 1965:

Satirical parody on the interventions made in the *aula* during the Congregation

Reverend Fathers,

I actually have nothing to say, and even this nothing has already been well said by many others. Nevertheless, I want to offer a few words to increase your merit. Do not fear; I will be brief. I will not say more than ten words after my time is up.

This nocturnal celebration pleases me, or rather it pleases me a great deal, but the English title "Farewell Show" is less pleasing. On the contrary, it seems to me that a celebration of this kind is illicit and invalid and should

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Reverendi Patres,

Revera nihil habeo dicendum, et etiam hoc nihil ab aliis multis iam bene dictum est. Tamen volo aliqua verba proferre ad augendum vestrum meritum. Ne timeatis; brevis ero: non plus quam decem verba proferam post elapsum meum tempus.

Haec celebratio nocturna mihi placet, immo valde placet—sed minus placet titulus anglicus "Farewell Show" seu spectaculum valedictorium. Immo videtur mihi huiusmodi celebrationem esse illicitam, invalidam et statim

be stopped immediately. Here are the reasons:

1) Because it is contrary to the mind of St. Ignatius. I do not wish to undertake a historical investigation, nor is it necessary. For we have a convenient and sure criterion for recognizing the mind of St. Ignatius; namely, Ignatius thought the way I do. But this celebration does not please me. Therefore, it is contrary to the mind of St. Ignatius. But if you should ask why it does not please me, I would say:

2) Because it creates insurmountable juridical difficulties. I am not an expert in law, but I wish to speak as an expert, since everybody does this. Moreover, according to the legal experts, all questions which arise from the interruption of the Congregation should be solved as if the Congregation were not being interrupted. In other words—clearer and less juridical words—all problems are to be solved as if they did not exist.

An excellent formula, indeed, for solving certain difficulties! (I speak sincerely, Fathers. For example, all those great difficulties about the traveling expenses for the second session could be solved by explaining to the airline agencies that they should make their calculations as if there were only one trip to be made.)

But what about this case? According to the principle expressed, our farewell is invalid, because it supposes an interruption, or rather it supposes the conclusion of the Congregation. Or, if it is valid, then what is worse, the second session itself will be invalid. Its decrees will be invalid, the carrying out of the decrees will be invalid, and so on.

3) Someone may say, "I don't care about legalism; your argument doesn't

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suspendendam. Rationes sunt:

1) Quia est contra mentem S. P. Ignatii: nolo instituere inquisitionem historicam, nec necesse est; habemus enim criterium facile et certum ad dignoscendam mentem S. Ignatii: sc.: Ignatius cogitabat sicut ego cogito; atqui haec celebratio mihi non placet. Ergo est contra mentem S. Ignatii. Si vero quaeratur cur mihi non placeat, dicam:

2) Quia creat insuperabiles difficultates iuridicas. Ego non sum iurisperitus, sed volo loqui ut peritus, siquidem omnes hoc faciunt. Iamvero, secundum iurisperitos omnes quaestiones quae ex interruptione Congregationis oriuntur debent solvi ac si Congregatio non interrumperetur. Aliis verbis—magis claris et minus iuridicis—omnia problemata solvenda sunt ac si non existerent.

Optima formula quidem ad quaslibet difficultates solvendas! (Sincere loquor, Patres: v.g. omnes illae magnae difficultates de expensis itinerum pro secunda sessione possent solvi explicando Consociationibus Aeriis computationes debere fieri ac si unum tantum iter faciendum esset.")

Sed quid ad casum? Secundum principium enunciatum, nostra valedictio est invalida, quia supponit interruptionem, immo supponit conclusionem Congregationis. Vel, si est valida, tunc, quod est peius, ipsa secunda sessio erit invalida. Eius decreta erunt invalida, exsecutio decretorum erit invalida, et ita porro.

3) Dixerit quispiam, ego non curo de iuridicismo, non mihi movet tuum

move me." But, Reverend Fathers, we must consider our young men. I am speaking about these excellent scholastics who truly love their vocation. Will this farewell please them? What is certain from their many *postulata*? They are indeed demanding many things, but a single desire underlies them all: just from the number of *postulata* it is clear that those scholastics wanted to keep us in Rome for the rest of our lives. In this way they wanted to solve all the problems of the Society, and, in fact, from the news we have received, it is certain that the Society has rested in great peace during our absence from the provinces. If we return to our provinces now, it is to be feared that a new crisis will arise in the Society and new *postulata* will rise up before us.

Therefore, I think that this celebration should at least be postponed, for it is not yet mature. Let us have the farewell at the beginning of the second session, or else let us leave the entire matter to four *definitores* who will have a celebration among themselves at an opportune time!

I thank you.

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argumentum. Sed, Reverendi Patres, debemus cogitare de nostris iuvenibus. Loquor de optimis scholasticis qui vocationem suam vere amant: placebitne illis haec valedictio? Quid constat ex tot eorum postulatis? Multa quidem postulant, sed unum tandem desiderium omnibus subest—ex solo numero postulatorum manifestum est scholasticos illos voluisse nos Romae retinere per totam nostram vitam. Sic volebant solvere omnia problemata Societatis: et revera ex nuntiis acceptis, constat Societatem in magna tranquillitate quievisse durante nostra absentia a Provinciis. Si nunc revertimur in Provincias, timendum ne nova crisis oriatur in Societate et nova postulata exsurgant.

Ergo puto saltem differendam esse hanc celebrationem; nondum enim est matura. Habeamus valedictionem initio secundae sessionis vel, totam rem relinquamus quattuor Definitoribus qui opportuno tempore celebrationem inter se habebunt!

Gratias.

* * *

A piece presented by Fr. José de Sobrino, Provincial of Andalusia:

Sequentia Pseudoliturgica Congregationis Generalis XXXI

1. Ex omni plaga vocati
veniunt Patres congregati
ad istud capitulum,
Veniunt Angli, veniunt Galli,
lingua tamen inaequali:
quod facit periculum.

2. Indos, Slavos, Hispanos,
et Latino-Americanos,
curis tactos paribus
et Saxones salutatis
qui Statibus Foederatis
veniunt cum dollaribus.

3. Sumus omnes, sumus laeti,
sumus alacres et freti
et laboribus praesto;

et in aula pontificia
sancta replemur laetitia
loquente Paulo Sexto.

4. Iuvant proelo coadiutores,
serviunt mensis superiores
suis ipsi manibus;

et pro tanta re facienda
datur quotidie in merenda
Pepsi-Cola Patribus.

5. Electronico cerebro,
moderno, sapiente et crebro,
fiunt omnes calculi:

et in binis tabulatis
plus minusve computati
prospiciuntur numeri.

6. Discutitur Generalis,
an "per tempus" an "vitalis"
sit eius duratio:

auditis omnium quaerelis
"sit ad vitam, cum cautelis"
dicit Congregatio.

7. Generalis iam electus
per televisionem vectus
toto mundo loquitur:

et Magister Dominicus
in mensa sedens amicus
signum bonum dicitur.

8. Primo legitur "relatio",
deinde fit "disceptatio"
multis approbantibus,

sed obsistit Villanova
dicendo quod res est nova
adductis rationibus.

9. Accedit Pater Giampieri
et ab illo potest quaeri
de qua re is loquitur

Sed respondet Congregatio
quod est magna delectatio
cum de ipso agitur.

10. Cautclarum apparatus
firmus, flexibilis, gratus,
sententia est omni concors:

Generales Assistentes,
ut sint pauci et efficientes,
reducuntur ad quattuor.

11. Praesidentem Fordhamensem
factum cives curialensem
unanimiter votamus

Americanorum spei,
est O'Keefe, est Okey:
et omnes gratulamur.

12. Sed calor iam augebatur,
et sic quisque exsudabatur
ut concludendas sit res

siquidem tota creatura
adhuc erat immatura
et sic perficienda est.

13. Sit completa, sit iucunda,
sit nobis sessio secunda
anno sexaginta et sex;

Cum viribus renovatis,
sine novis postulatis,
tandem proferatur lex.

14. Patres, nationes, valete!
unusquisque et unaquaeque,
alis, curru, pedites,

sub luna Romana in coelis
altis decorata stellis
iter vestrum pergite.

EDITORS' EPILOGUE

We must thank those of our readers who have let us know of the pleasures and interest they have had in reading *Lettres de Rome*. These testimonies have amply compensated for the additional work that copying, printing, and distributing these bulletins meant for the personnel of the Provincial's Secretariat.

These tributes belong, in fact, to him whom we have been pleased to decorate with the title of *Envoyé spécial*. He has sent us no less than one hundred pages of fine text, full pages closely typed on a borrowed machine. The needs of the cause have forced us to leave out many interesting passages. Those passages we have published are already an indication of the sustained quality of this correspondence and of the virtuosity of its author.

We will meet you again in September, 1966, at the second session of the General Congregation.

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

a genuine movement of renewal

ROBERT F. HARVANEK, S.J.

WITHIN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, an International Congress on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius was held at Loyola, Spain, during August, 1966. Forty-four Jesuits from different parts of the world took part in the Congress, which began on the evening of August 16th and concluded at noon on August 29th. The Congress was presided over by General Assistant Reverend Father John L. Swain, S.J., by the appointment of Father General Arrupe. The Secretary and General Manager of the Congress was Fr. Clemente Espinosa, S.J., formerly with the Sodality Secretariat in Rome.

It may be useful to review the history of the formation of the Congress before giving an account of its proceedings. About the time of Pope John's call for an *aggiornamento* of the Church in the modern world, there seemed to be a feeling in different parts of the Society of a need for rethinking and re-examining Jesuit spirituality and in particular the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius in the light of the contemporary spirit moving the Church and the world. A number of conferences and institutes in the United States on either Jesuit spirituality or the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius were an indication of that desire. The workshop held at Loyola in Chicago in 1962 under the title of *Contemporary Thought in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, and the conversations at Woodstock that led to a request for the formation of an American Institute of Spirituality at Fordham, are instances of this general move-

ment. What was taking place here in the United States was taking place elsewhere in the Society also, and requests were being sent in to Rome for some action to be taken with a view to thinking through the spirituality of the Society and the Spiritual Exercises in conjunction with the movements in the contemporary world. The general idea seemed to be to establish some sort of institute of research and teaching, perhaps in Rome, in Ignatian Spirituality. Some planning sessions led to the recommendation that an International Congress on the Spiritual Exercises in the contemporary world be called. Such a congress was planned and organized for August, 1965. The place chosen was Mexico City. Each province was asked to send a representative who would not only take active part in the Congress but would also return to his province afterward to organize discussions and conferences on the local level with a view to updating the presentation of the Exercises. The program of the Mexico City Congress was very similar to the program of the Chicago-Loyola workshop on *Contemporary Thought and the Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius even to the extent of using some of the same personnel.

Difficulties in Mexico City

The Mexico City Congress ran into difficulties. The first was the criticism that it received from a number of people that it was more of a general convention in which no work could effectively be done than a workshop which could meet the problems of the times. This criticism tended to argue that what was needed was not a general congress, but rather a small working group of people competent both in the theology of the Exercises and in the practice of giving them. This group would not meet simply for a few days or a week or two, but set itself to the task of thinking out the problems and working out solutions over a sufficiently lengthy period of time. Whatever the merit of the positive suggestion of this criticism, its negative criticism about the ineffectiveness of a general International Congress in which the people had greatly different talents, training and experience was felt by many.

The second difficulty arose from one of the preparatory moves for the Congress. It was thought that it would be very useful to have a general survey of opinion from all parts of the world, and from various classes of people occupied with the Spiritual Exer-

cises as background for the deliberations of the Congress. As a result a questionnaire was prepared and sent out to each of the province representatives. They in turn were asked to distribute these to priests, religious, laymen, as well as Jesuits, who might be expected to have some sort of judgment about the Spiritual Exercises and their effectiveness in our times. A large number of questionnaires were distributed. For example, over one hundred copies of the questionnaire were sent to the Chicago Province and about eighty of these were sent out. About fifty people replied. The questionnaire was so constructed as to invite essay-type responses. The result was that when all this material began to arrive in Rome the task of digesting it and making it available in time for use by the Congress became impossible.[1] Consequently, it was decided to postpone the Congress for a year. In the meantime the General Congregation convened and the first session took place. Since it was evident that the Congregation would involve itself in the questions that had stimulated the original desire for an institute, there was some dispute apparently as to whether there should be a Congress at all.

Meeting in Spain

In any event the Congress was reorganized in the spring of 1966 and called at Loyola in Spain for the dates already given. This new Congress did not follow the format of the original one, nor did it completely follow the plan of a small working congress of experts only. The members of the Congress were not taken from each province, and they were not appointed by the provincials. Rather they were taken from a list of nominees submitted in a small questionnaire sent out around February. This questionnaire also asked for suggestions for topics to be discussed in the Congress, and for an expression of willingness to participate and to submit papers, as well as for nominations for participants in the Congress. The theme

[1] The results of the questionnaire were finally digested, summarized, and printed. They are available in an English language edition from Fr. Clemente Espinosa, S.J., Secretary of the International Congress of the Spiritual Exercises, Borgo S. Spirito, 5, Rome. The price is three dollars, and the title is: *Problematic of the Spiritual Exercises Today.* It is also available from Fr. Burke's office. The questionnaire and its tabulation were also criticized as unscientific and uncritical; there was no effective control over the responses, and it is hard to know how to evaluate them.

was likewise changed to a consideration of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius in the light of Vatican II. In other words, it was not so much the modern world that was in focus, as the work of the Holy Spirit in Vatican II, the directions in which the work of this assembly seemed to be moving the Church and the relations of the Spiritual Exercises to this.

There were certainly experts in the Spiritual Exercises at the Congress, men like Fr. Iparraguirre, and Frs. Laplace and Mollat, as well as Fr. Paul Kennedy of St. Beuno's and Fr. Thomas A. Burke of the Spiritual Exercises program in New Jersey. In general, I suppose one can say that the participants fell into three classes: professors of theology or Scripture, or writers and editors of spiritual journals; spiritual directors such as novice masters and tertian instructors, and men experienced in giving the Exercises to religious; retreat masters for student and adult lay retreat groups as well as specialists for priests and religious. The kind of experience that each one had in the giving of the Exercises varied with his circumstances just as did one's knowledge of the new theological and scriptural developments in the Church.

In the long run then, what was the purpose that the Congress was intended to fulfill? I suppose that in the mind of some of its organizers its function was still the original one: to look over the situation of the Exercises in the world today and to recommend that some action be taken to revitalize and energize the apostolate of the Exercises. It seemed to be envisioned that the form this action would take would be that of a teaching institute established in Rome for potential directors of the Exercises. However, in the minds of others, and perhaps Fr. Arrupe was among these, the purpose of the Congress was to examine and explore the relation between the work of Vatican II and the Spiritual Exercises, and, in the light of this investigation, to make some recommendations about the place of the Exercises in the Society's apostolate in the contemporary Church. The Congress therefore was a kind of extended and preliminary free discussion of a topic that was of concern to the General Congregation and to Father General, and would be able to provide some explorations of an important theme for the meditations of the Congregation and for future decisions.[2]

[2] The General Congregation did not publish a separate decree on the

Procedures at the Congress

Perhaps the Congress served this purpose. A large number of written papers were prepared as a basis for the discussion of the Congress. Each of the sixteen themes had at least one paper written by the principal chairman, many of them had two, three, or even more papers submitted. Some correspondents who were not able to attend submitted papers. These papers were not read at the Congress, rather they were multiplied, and wherever possible presented in three languages (Spanish, French, and English) and sent out to the delegates ahead of time. Though the assignments were made late, there was an amazing amount of cooperation with the planning committee, and most of the papers were in the hands of the delegates before they came to the Congress. At the Congress each of the themes was given a half day, approximately three and one-half hours, for discussion. The topic was first presented at a general assembly by the chairman of the committee appointed for that topic. He usually summarized at least his own paper and sometimes the other papers which were submitted. This rarely took more than twenty minutes or a half hour. After that the Congress broke up into the three language groups indicated and discussed the theme for about an hour. After this there was another general assembly at which the discussions of the language groups were summarized, after which the topic continued to be discussed for the remainder of the time by the whole body together. The three chairmen of the language groups for each of the topics were responsible for drawing up a summary of the discussion with the principal recommendations. Since the schedule did not allow for any working time for committees of this sort, it was again amazing that the summaries were for the most part completed by the time the Congress was concluded. There was not much opportunity to make observations and corrections in these summaries while the Congress was still in progress, however all were invited to send in additional written comments as soon as they could. A special committee was given the responsibility of drawing up a kind of

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Spiritual Exercises, though they are mentioned throughout, especially in the decrees on the religious life. They are particularly mentioned in the Decree on Prayer and the decree itself contains a paragraph on the annual Exercises to be made by Jesuits.

general position paper or statement which would express the recommendations of the whole Congress to Father General. The last session preceding the closing concelebrated Mass in the basilica proved not to be long enough to review and discuss the entire position paper, but enough was done to gather the general mind of the Congress. The unfinished work was to be completed by a small committee in Rome working with Fr. Swain, at the end of September. It would then be submitted to Father General, and perhaps through him to the General Congregation. Further action would depend upon the decisions taken by these two agencies.

It might have been presupposed that the Congress would find that the Spiritual Exercises still do have a role to play in the life of the Church. It would be rather surprising if such a fundamental instrument of Christian experience and service were suddenly to become irrelevant to the progress of Christian life. Moreover, the fathers who were gathered in the Congress were all evidently men who had profoundly undergone the experience of the Exercises in their own lives and who had frequently found them efficacious in the lives of others. Admitting all this, there was still an element of surprise as the Congress progressed that there should be such a real and deep harmony between the movement of the Church in Vatican II and the Spiritual Exercises. In fact, I think there were moments when everyone there felt that the thing to do was to go out immediately and begin a movement for the renewal of the Exercises throughout the world because this would be the form of the apostolate that would best serve the Church and the one way in which the Society itself could best serve the Church today.

This surprise and enthusiasm manifested, I think, an initial apprehension that perhaps the shift in the Church was something which was away from the direction of the Exercises and that if the Exercises were not completely irrelevant, at least they would have to be considerably altered. Part of the new understanding that came out of the discussion however was that there should be some alteration, it is true, but for the most part this alteration would be in the direction of rediscovering the Exercises, or at least of realizing a new level and depth in them which perhaps had not been appreciated in their recent past.

I do not want to suggest the idea that the harmony between the

theology of Vatican II and the Spiritual Exercises was something that was considered by the Congress to be evident and apparent on the face of things. Rather, I would want to suggest the opposite, namely, that the harmony was rather at the deeper levels of understanding behind the words and phrases and images.

Vatican II and the Spiritual Exercises

Perhaps the point of contact came in the way of reading Vatican II, and then in the understanding this generated of the Spiritual Exercises. It has sometimes been said that the thrust of Vatican II was primarily in the development of the theology of the Church as a community, that even the renewal of the liturgy was part of this pattern. This may be true enough, but to the theologians at the Congress it seemed that the real center and heart of Vatican II was the reaffirmation and illumination of the mystery of Christ, that the constant theme of the Council was the mystery of Christ in the history of salvation, and particularly the Paschal Mystery. This kept recurring in all the documents. It meant then that the sense of revelation, both in Scripture and in the Church was that the whole history of mankind is centered in the history of Christ. It is this history which is to be taught to the faithful by the bishops and priests, and which is to be lived by the faithful. It is this mystery which is celebrated liturgically. The new emphasis on the Eucharist, and the development of biblical theology both converge to make the same affirmation.

If one read the Council this way, it became easy to see how, as one man expressed it, the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius not only harmonized with Scripture and the liturgy, and therefore with the Council, but was actually identical with them, in that it was a way of experiencing this one central mystery of Christianity.

It seemed to me at least that the effect of this was to consider the Exercises not so much as a way of arriving at a decision, but rather as a method for experiencing the mystery of Christ. In the words of Fr. Coathalem, the tertian instructor from Taiwan (who had sent a communication to the Congress, though he was not a member), the essence of the Spiritual Exercises is to be found in the sequence of the weeks. This then took the weight off what have generally been known as the key meditations of the Exercises, and off the election, and placed it upon the experiencing of the mystery

of Christ, and especially upon the process of the Third and Fourth Weeks. This means that the climax of the Spiritual Exercises is found in these last two weeks, and the whole problem of their value and place in the retreat once the election has been made is automatically solved.

It should not be understood that the key meditations and the election, as Fr. Peters would seem to argue, do not have an essential role to play in this process of undergoing the mystery of Christ. They have as a matter of fact a very important role to play as was pointed out in a communication that was sent to the Congress by Fr. Fiorito of Argentina. The role of the key meditations is to act as a kind of commentary and interpretation of the mystery of Christ, as exercises which enable the person who makes the Exercises to enter into the mystery.

The election and Paschal Mystery

The election likewise is important for the process of spiritually entering into the mystery of Christ, for it is only by our response to the invocation of Christ, by our decision to imitate Christ, that we actually participate in his mystery. The election is a kind of condition for entering into the Third and Fourth Weeks. Fr. Koevecses of Brazil introduced a distinction between two different elections (though this terminology is not used by Ignatius), which are found in the Exercises. The first is a condition of the second and consists in the choice to respond fully to Christ with complete openness to whatever way of imitation his will indicates. This is the election of the second response of the kingdom, and of the third degree of humility. It is necessary to have this response before the particular election, the election properly so-called in the Exercises, becomes operable. It follows therefore that the particular election should not always take place, but only in those circumstances where the exercitant is conditioned for it by his complete generosity to God. The point of this view then is not so much that the key meditations and the election are not necessary, but rather that they are simply stages on the way to complete participation in Christ, and that the fullness of this is found in the participation in the Paschal Mystery in the Third and Fourth Weeks. It is this emphasis on the Third and Fourth Weeks which relates the Exercises so closely to both the liturgy and to Scripture. It would be a mistake however

to think that the Paschal Mystery is limited to these last two weeks of the Exercises. The Paschal Mystery really, as Fr. Magana of Mexico kept pointing out, is something which begins with the fall and the promise of the redemption of man, and therefore is the theme which runs through the whole course of Scripture. Though Ignatius was translating his own personal experience of Christ, this experience is the fundamental experience of Christianity, both as manifested in the vocation of Israel and as manifested in the life of Christ himself. It is necessary therefore for the exercitant to go through the experience of the need of salvation, which is provided by the First Week, and then to proceed through the experience of salvation itself by the contemplative participation in the life of Christ in the Second, Third, and Fourth Weeks.

Though this basic harmony was recognized as both the thrust of Vatican II and also as the essence of the Exercises, it was nevertheless also recognized that the language, perhaps one might even say the theological constructs in which the Exercises were composed are not in the language and theology of Vatican II. Consequently when the Exercises are presented today, they must be presented in the language and theology of Vatican II, and take into account the developments in the Church which both initiated the Council and found expression in it. Perhaps the key to this new language of the Exercises is to be found in Scripture, both in the sense that some of the more scholastic portions of the Exercises, such as the Principle and Foundation, must, if they are to be profitable, be presented in terms of Scripture. Moreover, the theology of Scripture rather than of the scholastics should provide the theology of the Exercises today.

There was some difficulty experienced with the meditations of the First Week, especially the first meditation on the triple sin. This arose from the problem of the demythologizing of Scripture, and specifically of the angels. This point was never settled during the time of the Congress itself, though it kept coming back for more discussion, and the questions of the fifth meditation on hell did not get to the floor at all.

Methodology

Perhaps the other major thrust of the Congress had to do with the method of the Exercises and the kinds and types of Exercises

and the persons who should make them. The discussion of method, types of Exercises, and persons occurred under the heading of the Annotations which were taken up at the end rather than the beginning of the Congress. This was the only instance in which the sequence of the Exercises was not followed. It might be useful to mention a basic ambiguity that was brought out as soon as the Congress began discussing the question of methodology, namely, the ambiguity of considering the Exercises as presenting a doctrine so that they become something of a school of spirituality, and considering the Exercises as primarily a method of prayer and of spiritual encounter with God. If one is to present the Exercises in terms of the theology of Vatican II and of contemporary biblical theology, then it would seem to mean that the director would be expected to spend a good deal of time in explaining this theology. This would run counter to what was certainly one of the strong affirmations of the Congress in terms of methodology. There was clearly a general desire to return as far as possible to the personal style of retreats which was the original method used by St. Ignatius and indicated in the Annotations.

The opinion was expressed that perhaps the principal reason why the Exercises have begun to lose their attraction to retreatants is that they have been practiced more as a course in spiritual theology with a prayerful intention, than as a program of Exercises. The course in spiritual theology forces the director constantly to find some sort of new theme or viewpoint while keeping within the structure of the Exercises. This generated the complaint of constant repetition and ennui. Several experienced directors gave accounts of their practice of giving personal retreats, and their judgment was that the results were far greater than those of the general group retreats. Three styles of such personal retreats were reported. There was first of all the genuine personal retreat of one retreatant making Spiritual Exercises under the daily guidance of the director. Fr. Brien had done this successfully for years in his work in Canada. The length of the Exercises would depend upon the condition of the retreatant, his capacity for making Exercises of this sort, and the available time. The point was stressed several times that it was not possible to recommend this type of retreat to all of those who come to us to make retreats; many are not spiritually or psychologically prepared for this type of work.

The second style was that represented by the 19th Annotation, and reported by Fr. Van Schoote of Belgium. He has given personal retreats to clergy and laymen alike who do not have the time to separate themselves from their daily affairs, but who can afford a couple of hours a day for a definite period for making the Exercises. Fr. Van Schoote's practice was to visit these retreatants daily and instruct them on the next exercise to be made after a discussion of the previous one. One of the special virtues that seem to come out of this mode of the Exercises was the integration of prayer and action, of the work of the exercitant's daily life with the life of prayer in union with Christ.

The third mode of personal Exercises reported by Fr. Kennedy was that of giving the Exercises to a group of twenty-five or thirty (father said that a maximum amount of thirty-five had been handled this way, but an ideal number would be twenty or twenty-five) who would meet only once in a day for general instruction and direction on the part of the one who gives the Exercises. The director would then meet with each of the retreatants personally and individually each day if possible, or at least every second day, to give directions on the personal Exercises they should make, and to discuss their experiences with them.

The capacity of the exercitant

The desire to return to this original mode of giving the Spiritual Exercises was so great that one man expressed the opinion that the Society should refuse to pretend to give the Exercises unless they were such as conformed to the original intent and situation. The Congress sympathized with his point of view, but felt the Society simply could not turn down requests for retreats, even though the conditions were not ideal. On the other hand, it was thought that more could be done to "sell" the personal style of Exercises to various classes of retreatants.

This discussion led to the second major theme, the importance of the distinction between people capable of making the "light Exercises," and those capable and interested in making the complete Exercises of the Second, Third, and Fourth Weeks. The distinction is made by St. Ignatius in the 18th Annotation. It seemed to be a strong sentiment of the Congress that it was generally bad procedure simply to squeeze the structure of the Exercises from a thirty day

retreat into an eight day retreat, and into a five day retreat and finally down to a three or two or a one day retreat. In other words, when people are not able to make the longer Exercises, even for a relatively short time, such as a week or ten days, then exercises suited to their situation and disposition should be given to them, and not simply a collapsed form of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The types of exercises these might be were not developed or worked out, though there seemed to be some indication that variant forms of group exercises, of liturgical exercises, etc., might be quite proper for this class of retreatants.

However it was also the strong sentiment of the group that the essential methodology of the Exercises was the engagement of the retreatant in personal prayer. Everything should be organized and ordered from this point of view, that is to lead the exercitant to engage in personal prayer in which he might spiritually and interiorly experience the mystery of Christ and the movements of the Holy Spirit in his soul. It was generally thought that dialog retreats and group discussion, and retreats without silence did not lead to personal prayer and the contemplative experience of Christ and the personal guidance of the Holy Spirit. Clearly this implies the theology of the discernment of spirits and of a particular divine providence guiding the individual soul through interior motions, which is the subject of the 20th Annotation.

There was no tendency on the part of the Congress to question this theology at all, that is, to doubt it or wonder about it. In fact, when someone asked whether we should explore the theological soundness of the position, there seemed to be a kind of general impatience, as though this theology were evident to all from experience, and there was no need to take the time to demonstrate it. There was not even any tendency to restrict the discernment of spirits to the higher phases of Christian life, to mystical experience for example. It was generally felt that the spirits are operating in all Christians, and in fact in all men. It was admitted that their discernment is not always easy, and can not be achieved in every circumstance. Time is needed both on the part of the exercitant to come to a distinction of the spirits moving him, and also on the part of the director to be able to guide and direct this particular exercitant. It was felt that it would be a mistake to think that the discernment of spirits was something that could be done without edu-

cation and without patience. It was for this reason that the Congress was eager to recommend the need for more training of spiritual guides, first of all among Jesuits themselves, and secondly also among other priests, religious, and laymen. One of the constant themes that keeps coming up in congresses and institutes where the religious formation of Christians is under discussion is the lack of competent spiritual guides and the need for more of them and that they be better trained.

The Congress felt that every Jesuit ought to achieve a certain degree of competence in the guidance of souls, that this ought to be one of the effects of the general course in the formation of Jesuit priests. It recognized of course that there might be the exceptional individual whose gifts in the priestly apostolate did not include the capacity to relate to individuals in this sphere of their interior personal spiritual life, but generally it was thought that this should be an exception among us. This implied a judgment that the present formation of Jesuits has not sufficiently developed the potential in each man to become a "discerner of spirits" and a guide of souls. This was judged to be primarily because the general experience of Jesuits in the making of the Exercises was not one which formed them in the practice of the discerning and listening to the Holy Spirit in their own souls under the guidance of a competent spiritual guide, and that consequently they were not confident of being able to do this with others. The important thing therefore was to renew the original mode of making the Exercises in a personal way as intended by St. Ignatius within the Society, beginning from the novitiate, though there was some question whether there was sufficient maturity in the spiritual life at the beginning of the novitiate for everyone to be able to make the Exercises in the proper way.

This also became a matter for discussion when the question of the repetition of the Exercises annually by religious groups, by lay retreatants, and by Jesuits themselves was discussed. The general sense of the discussion, and of the basic paper presented by Fr. Granero, was that the Spiritual Exercises could indeed be repeated and, in fact, should be in certain situations; but they need not be imposed or required of everyone in any particular group or community every year. The thought seemed to be that the Exercises might properly be repeated at times of transition or change in the

progress of one's life, and if that life had settled into a pattern without any new situations anticipated in the future, then they might be repeated every several years but not necessarily every year. As regards to the Society, it was thought that a periodic repetition of this sort would be sufficient to provide for unity and continuity of spirit in the Society. In the off years, other forms of spiritual renewal might take the place of the Spiritual Exercises.[3] It was further suggested that the decision as to what should be done should be as far as possible determined by the circumstances of the individual person, and consequently some sort of possibility of choice of the type of exercises to be made should be provided for. In other words, the entire community should not be forced into the same pattern, whether it be making the Spiritual Exercises, or some other type of renewal, such as a liturgical week of prayer, or an experience of Christian community, or a biblical week.

Liturgy and the Exercises

One of the difficulties that the members of the Congress felt right from the beginning was the impossibility to get very far in the consideration and discussion of any one question. The program of the Congress covered many topics which were difficult and complicated. In some instances the progress of the Congress itself took care of the matter to some degree, in that the succession of topics tended to return upon old questions, and thus some progress was made. However it was a primary concern of all at the end that it be made clear that the Congress had been able only to initiate discussion on the whole series of problems, and consequently a final determination on the interpretation and practice of the Spiritual Exercises today should not be expected from it. Perhaps the area where this inadequacy was most in evidence was the area of methodology as applied to the liturgy and to the question of community. It was relatively easy to see a fundamental identity between the spirituality of the liturgy and the spirituality of the Exercises, as was indicated above. One could see how the Exercises could both contribute to a deeper and greater participation in the liturgy,

[3] The General Congregation reiterated the past practice of making the Spiritual Exercises every year for eight days, but allowed for adaptations either for individuals or for whole provinces or assistancies. Cf. the Decree on Prayer No. 16.

and how they could also complete the liturgy by giving the exercitant an opportunity to live the Paschal Mystery contemplatively in order to determine how he might live it actually in his everyday life. But not much progress was made in the question of how the liturgy itself could or should properly enter into the work of the Exercises themselves. There was general satisfaction with the recent practice of locating the celebration of the Eucharist in the middle of the day or in the afternoon on the days when the Spiritual Exercises are being made, and of relating the celebration of the Eucharist to the Exercises and vice versa. However the question of the intrinsic dependence of the Exercises upon the liturgy was not explored at any length. Rather there was a tendency to consider the two as parallel practices of Christian life, with the sacramental sacrifice holding the primacy of course, but with the Exercises standing somewhat independently as fulfilling its own role in the life of the Church.

Part of the difficulty here is that the liturgy is by its nature a communal exercise of worship, and this is one of the areas where the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius are finding their greatest difficulty today. There is a tendency to absolve the question of the experience of Christian community and involvement in Christian community in terms of the way in which Christ and the election are presented, so that the orientation and resolution of the exercitant will be in the direction of the service of the Church and of the world as this is preached by Vatican II. But this is still done within the interiority of individual contemplation, and the community as such does not actually enter into this contemplation and form a part of it according to the past practice and understanding of the Exercises. As indicated above there was a general feeling that community exercises are incompatible with personal prayer and therefore did not form an intrinsic part of the Spiritual Exercises. This does not mean at all that community exercises do not have an important and necessary place in the Church, but it means only they do not have a part in the Spiritual Exercises. This seemed to be the sense also of the letter of Pope Paul VI to Cardinal Cushing on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Laymen's Retreat League in the United States. However there were some who indicated the difficulty of some, even within the Society, who do not

seem to be able to contemplate and make spiritual exercises, at least for any extended time. It was also remarked that many who have made the Exercises tend to remain independent individuals instead of becoming persons in community. Others also had participated in experimental forms of the Exercises, in the annual repetitions, in which varying degrees of community exercises were made, and they judged that these common exercises had some value and importance.

It was the hope of the Congress that the work that had begun there would continue throughout the Society, and that a real movement of renewal and invigoration of the Spiritual Exercises, not so much for themselves, but as a very excellent means for promoting the Church of Vatican II, would take place throughout the Society. There was no desire on the part of the group as a whole, though there was some strong advocacy of the plan, to establish a central teaching institute in Rome for the formation of spiritual guides and directors of the Spiritual Exercises. It was probably the more widespread desire that there be some sort of regional stimulus for the continuing renewal of the Spiritual Exercises, whether originating out of the different national journals of Jesuit spiritual life, such as *The Way, Manresa, Geist und Leben,* or by way of regional institutes or workshops of one sort or another. It was thought that possibly it would be valuable to have some sort of secretariat in Rome, to help keep all of these in motion and to be a center of information and communication.[4] In any case it could very well be that the important thing that needs to be done in the Society in the modern world is for it to put new life into its own personal experience of the Spiritual Exercises and in its ministry of the Exercises for others.

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[4] The position papers and summaries of the Loyola Congress have been published and are available in Latin, and probably will soon be available in English, if this is not already the case by the time this article appears in print. The Latin title of the booklet (56 pages) is: *Congressus Internationalis Exercitiorum Spiritualium—Loyola, 1966—Declarationes et Summaria.* It was distributed by C. Espinosa, S.J., Borgo S. Spirito, 5, Rome, Italy.

SAINT AUGUSTINE AND THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

The Patristic Age was doctrinal rather than devotional.

JOSEPH A. SLATTERY, S.J.

THIS PAPER PROPOSES TO EXAMINE the pertinence of the ascetical and homiletic writings of St. Augustine to the *Spiritual Exercises.* It may safely be assumed that our retreat masters, unless they have the brains of mechanical monsters, suffer, from time to time, a sort of dullness or fatigue, and look about for a new point of approach which will reawaken interest in the staple themes which for us at least, if not for our hearers, have lost their excitement from constant repetition. St. Augustine seems to supply such an approach.

Here it is not recommended that Augustinian ideas be taken over wholesale, without discrimination and adjustment. The Saint's rigorism and pessimism will assuredly be found discordant with the optimism of modern Jesuit thought. His treatment of the events of our Lord's life is not quite suited to the method of contemplation which is a prominent feature of an Ignatian retreat. But these reservations allowed for, St. Augustine remains a very rich and stimulating source of ideas and symbols perfectly congruous to the spirit and aims of the *Exercises.*

An analogy from architecture may serve to introduce the argument. Among the ruins on the Athenian Acropolis may be traced the ground plan of the Propylaea, designed by Pericles to serve as a fortified entrance to the enclosure which contained a temple of

the tutelary goddess of the city, and was its last defense. The plan of the Propylaea made it unique among ancient monuments. Its reproduction in the façade of the Philadelphia Museum of Fine Arts is surely not an accident. The American architect had the Greek model in mind. Wisely, however, he confined his imitation to form. For material he chose a native sandstone, as more congruous to the landscape of Eastern Pennsylvania, a region still reminiscent of Penn's forest, and more resistant than marble to its harsh climate. This light brown sandstone is easy to obtain, easy to work, and very durable. To some eyes, however, it may appear dull, and after sufficient exposure to Philadelphia smog, even dreary. To apply the analogy down to its last detail would be impertinent. It is intended only to suggest that if our ideas are coming to feel and look more like sandstone than marble, we need not stand at a loss for first class material. The ideas of St. Augustine are as smooth and solid, as hospitable to light and warmth, as the stones of Mount Pentelicus.

A manual of strategy

The question arises whether his material can be shaped for our purpose. Before answering let us recall a very familiar observation on the literary form and structure of the *Exercises,* the truism that St. Ignatius did not write nor intend to write a treatise of spirituality. His book is a manual of strategy, the analytic study of an action —a transforming action, a personal revolution. This psychological reversal is to be effected, under grace, by a planned sequence of decisive moves, each growing out of its predecessor, and somewhat like the minute shifts involved in the coiling of a snake, leaving the will in position to strike its object with maximum force. The over-all plan of this shift of front, to employ military metaphor, is definite; but not the tactical detail. The actual deployment of battalion or corps is left to the officer on the spot, in this case the retreat director, who will know the concrete difficulties, the morale of the exercitants, and how best to reduce generalities to specific intellectual and imaginative experiences.

The plan itself, the book which we adopt as our guide, is the masterpiece of a very extraordinary genius in the sphere of action. How effective it is in achieving the end it proposes is by now attested by all competent judges; but the incredible subtlety of St.

Ignatius' analysis of the process of deliberate volition was revealed only recently in Fr. Fessard's *La dialectique des Exercices Spirituels,* which showed that the Saint had anticipated one of Hegel's most important insights by three centuries.

If the reduction of this masterly plan from the level of strategy to that of ground tactics, its actualization in concrete images and distinct ideas, can be effected with the help of St. Augustine, very great advantages may reasonably be expected.The ground of this expectation is the universally admitted position which the Saint occupies as the chief fountainhead of theology and spirituality in the West. He is hailed as the possessor of one of the most comprehensive and penetrating minds, of one of the richest associative imaginations, and most effective prose styles ever put at the service of the Church: I would add, as a private opinion, one of the most charming personalities.

It is also my opinion that a very considerable segment of all these gifts is at our service in the ministry of the word, in and out of retreats. The exposition of this opinion may be introduced by reference to the architectural analogy employed above. "Surely," one might object, "it is courting disaster to appropriate the materials found in one intellectual structure for use in another. Here the ideas you propose to utilize were shaped to form the last masterpieces of the ancient world. Will they fit into a book which may claim to be the last masterpiece of the Middle Ages? If so, will the combination add up to a modern retreat?"

Certainly, this objection has validity. Surely it forbids us the folly of indiscriminately pouring Augustinian matter into an Ignatian mould. Great revolutions in culture separate the classical from the medieval world, and the Middle Ages from our own. These transformations have produced parallel changes in spirituality. Some of these changes will be considered presently. However, one observation should be made here which will rob the objection of much of its a priori plausibility.

In his treatise *De quantitate animae* St. Augustine has drawn up a plan or outline of the progress of the soul from its awakening to its sanctification. The process will be found strikingly similar to that presumed by St. Ignatius. Both saints take the same point of departure, envisage the same goal, and, what is perhaps more in-

teresting, prescribe the same steps to approach it. This need not be regarded as a semi-miraculous coincidence. It derives from the fact, already stated, that St. Augustine is a fountainhead of western spirituality. The extent of his influence may be accepted on the authority of Fr. Portalié: "Augustine was the inspiration of two seemingly antagonistic currents of thought, scholasticism and mysticism. From Gregory the Great to the Fathers of Trent, his supreme theological authority dominates all thinkers. The representatives of scholasticism and the representatives of mysticism appealed to his authority, nourished themselves upon his writings, and were penetrated by his spirit."

A crucial question

St. Augustine's schema, incorporated into all subsequent systems of spirituality as the doctrine of the "three ways," was part of the medieval legacy inherited by St. Ignatius. It is interesting to compare the *Exercises* with *De quantitate animae* step by step. Both books assume at the outset as normal to the human condition that, too often for our peace of mind, our fellow men are confused, led astray and eventually destroyed by impulses embedded in our nature. Yet man's destiny is to rise above such impulses, and, enlightened and supported by grace, to recognize and attain an object nobler than temporal success and enjoyment, in fact, to love and possess God. But how to achieve this transformation of attitudes, this orientation towards a transcendent ideal, how to make progress towards its attainment? This is the crucial question.

St. Augustine proposes to elevate the soul by seven steps corresponding to seven levels of its activity from simple animation to intellectual love of God at the threshold of mystical prayer. The initial phase of psychic activity is that wherein the mind obscurely discovers itself as the animating principle of a body and through the bodily senses enters into a fruitful relationship with its material environment. It then exercises the primal function of every organism, the uninhibited exploitation of its environment in the interests of survival and the normal concomitant thereto, pleasure.

In pursuit of these objects the mind develops, and discovers a more satisfying area of exploitation, namely, human society and its cultural resources. Here it seeks, as before, objects and activities which answer its demand for security and pleasure. But at this

stage, a new element is encountered. The mind is confronted with its own dignity and is laden with a sense of responsibility. It must act in accordance with certain norms derived not from its preferences, but from justice. The voice of conscience is recognized as echoing a superior mandate. Rightly fearing the rigors of incorruptible Divine Justice, it strives now to purify itself from stains which would invite just retribution. All this corresponds, it seems too obvious to insist, to the situation which is presumed in the Foundation and First Week of the *Exercises*.

St. Augustine proceeds. Happy now in its purified state and resolved to sin no more, the soul draws near to God and the contemplation of truth. Since St. Augustine in innumerable passages declares that the Truth is Christ and insists that he is the way to God, there can be no hesitation in identifying this stage of the soul's progress with the advance aimed at in the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks.

The last step seems to leave the soul at the brink or threshold of mystical prayer. Its similarity to the substance and aim of the *Contemplatio ad amorem* scarcely calls for explanation. Its precise identity would, of course, be another matter, one a retreat master is to decide for himself. This is what St. Augustine says, "illud plane ego nunc audeo tibi dicere, nos si cursum quem Deus imperat et quem tenendum suscepimus, constantissime tenuerimus, perventuros per virtutem Dei et sapientiam, ad illam summam causam, vel summum auctorem, vel summum principium omnium, vel si quo alio modo res tanta appellari debet—quo intelleeto vere videbimus quam sint omnia sub sole vanitas vanitatum."

The Spiritual Exercises

The general outline of spiritual progress then, is essentially the same in the treatise *De quantitate animae* and in the *Exercises*. The great pivotal meditations of the latter are found developed in other writings of St. Augustine with great penetration and from a point of view not very different from that of St. Ignatius.

To begin with the Foundation, St. Augustine deals with the end of man and the right use of creatures under two different aspects. His first position is that of the dogmatic theologian. Starting from the fact of God's sovereignty, he deduces man's end and function and use of creatures and the required attitude of indifference to

them in the manner with which we are familiar. Changing his ground to ethics he declares that happiness is the end proposed to man and necessarily pursued by him. But happiness is the possession of God. God alone, therefore, is to be enjoyed, everything else is to be used merely. An enjoyment which does not have God as its referable object is disordered, and in St. Augustine's stern view, at least venially sinful.

The topics of the First Week, the history, nature and punishment of sin, do not receive quite the amplitude of treatment one might expect. References to these topics are relatively brief and dogmatic. This stricture, if such it is, for St. Ignatius, one must remember, wanted only brief and summary clarification of the points of meditation—is not applicable to St. Augustine's study of the psychology of sin. Here his development is ample, and it goes without saying, impressive.

Our real disappointment will come in the subsequent week, and there not in the great meditations of the Kingdom, the Standards and Degrees of Love, but rather in the contemplations on our Lord's life. Here the Saint is found in the role of parochial preacher to his regular congregation. He is content to elucidate the text and indicate its doctrinal values rather than to direct movements of personal loyalty towards our Lord.

To sum up, matter for the great pivotal meditations which like the piers of a massive bridge sustain and orient the *Exercises* will be found in the writings of St. Augustine, and this matter is throughout of superior quality. In those passages of the *Confessions* and *City of God* which develop point by point the *Contemplatio ad amorem*, one seems to reach the climax of Latin literature and the limits of excellence in creative theological writing.

The calculating intelligence

But there is one very serious reservation to be made in our admiration of the Augustinian writings as a possible aid in the giving of retreats. The chivalrous and romantic élan of the Ignatian preoccupation with Christ is missing. The Patristic Age was doctrinal rather than devotional. In this St. Augustine was a man of his times. His homilies, where references to our Lord are naturally most frequent, were addressed to an audience composed largely of converted pagans, Novations, Manichaeans, and, at the end, Pela-

gians. With them it was necessary to insist on accurate theological interpretations of the texts which dealt with Creation, the Incarnation, the Trinity, and Grace. Heaven knows it still is necessary to stress these things in our churches, but in retreats we may happily take correct doctrine for granted and devoted our time to contemplation, an act elegantly defined by St. Bernard as "verus certusque animi intuitus"; in contrast to consideration, "intensio animi investigantis verum." One is the operation mainly of the intuitive imagination, the other of the calculating intelligence.

This means that in the *Exercises* we approach our Lord not only as king, teacher, victim, priest, and ultimately judge, but as a being who though infinitely more than man, is yet precisely and univocally a man as truly as you or I. He is therefore a man with a definite character which can only be seized intuitively, by pondering his words as he utters them and his acts as he performs them.

St. Augustine's tendency is to ignore this human character of Christ. His analysis of the text "verbum caro factum est" yields him a triad: *caro, anima, verbum.* In this triad *verbum,* the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity absorbs practically all interest. *Caro* and *anima* are reduced to instrumental and colorless roles. The Saint does not seem to consider that in our Lord, just as in ourselves, *caro* and *anima* interact and that their interaction begets a certain unique thing, which, since we cannot use the term personality in this context, we must call character, or individuality. By intuitive imagination, so at least it might be argued, we present our Lord's character to ourselves as a reality of great power and charm.

Is it correct to say that this reality, divinized through the hypostatic union, is the Sacred Heart? Attention to this element in the man-God encouraged by Ignatian contemplation, and its relative neglect in methods of prayer more exclusively given to consideration may have had its part in creating a divergence between the two schools of spirituality which have divided the Catholic world since the early seventeenth century. One may even be allowed to wonder if it had a part in our Lord's decision to entrust the theological defense of the devotion to the Sacred Heart to the Society rather than to the École Française, though the latter surpassed us in learning, and in influence, and in the number of great saints which it produced.

The gospel image of Christ

Once more a protesting voice is heard. "How," it will be objected "could a grave and radical dissidence, one productive of much mutual criticism, have possibly sprung from a mere trifle, a difference in methods of meditation? It would be folly to maintain that such was the sole or even the decisive cause of this division and debate. Still, it may have had its influence.

Let us see why. The Jesuit is trained to relate to our Lord as a very distinct individual. The first meditations in the novitiate, which direct us to imagine ourselves on the journey to Bethlehem or sweeping the floor at Nazareth, may cause us to smile in later years when our heads are full of the census of Quirinius, or the identity of the (step?) brothers of the Lord. But one thing they have done; they have planted our minds firmly in Palestine as a second home-land, and this in some mysterious way helps us find reality and solidity in the gospel image of Christ. Among other, far more important traits, we come across at least three that might not interest lofty thinkers, but are as unmistakeable marks of the Hero of the gospels as his beard. Also, in spite of all the efforts of piosity, they are as ineradicable.

First, Christ is a man of *epikeia*. This does not mean breaking rules, but having the intelligence and liberty of spirit to disregard them in situations where they do not apply. For instance, the solemn inauguration of our Lord's preaching and miracles, one gathers from the prophecy of Micah, was to be at Jerusalem and presumably at the Passover. Our Lord anticipates the time and begins his miracles at Cana to please a woman who pitied the embarrassment of a young couple. He himself declared the binding force of the rulings of the Scribes and Pharisees. "Whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do." But he allowed his disciples to disregard the rule and garner a little wheat on the Sabbath. Against the customs of the rabbis, he converses with a woman in public at Jacob's well. He even has female friends, and allows one of them to scandalize the apostles by breaking poverty in the form of a bottle of precious ointment, before he was even dead! An instance, not precisely of *epikeia*, but of liberality of spirit may be seen in the abundance of strong drink, sixty gallons according to one computation, supplied at the wedding feast, when men were already exhilarated, if not well drunk.

Second, our Lord is a man of humor. To maintain the opposite seems to turn him into a very wooden stick. We find our Lord taking a day off with the apostles on the beach near Bethsaida Julias just before the second Passover of the public ministry. Then a band of pilgrims from the north spy him and begin to pour in with sundry wives and children. "Philip, you get the sandwiches!" Nearing Jericho he sees a dignified little revenue officer running on ahead, and, pardon the expression, shinnying up a tree. "Zachaeus, shinny down and see about getting dinner ready!" Then we see him before the open tomb of Lazarus. The smell of death mingles with the mountain breeze. An awed silence strikes the assembled mourners as the swathed white figure shuffles forth. Our Lord's words restore normality, "Some one ought to take off those wrappings, so that he can walk."

Third, and what a hard word to men of solid and heavy piety, our Lord liked a little fun. Was he less perfect than the saints who took that terrible vow never to waste a moment's time? Or did he perhaps consider that a little fooling among friends was not time wasted? How about enticing Peter out on the water during the storm? How about teasing the shy travelers to Emmaus by pretending to go on, or, perhaps to avoid a scene of heavy sentiment, allowing Mary Magdalene to mistake him for the gardener? We read that he blessed the children and hugged them. Did he, like our dear Cardinal Cushing, so far endanger his reputation for gravity as to play with the moppets?

These questions are not put as rhetorical flourishes. Upon our answers will depend to some extent our appraisal of the character of Christ and of the Spirit in which he wished to be imitated. Whether guidance in this crucial matter is to be sought through analysis of the status and functions of the God-man, or through an imaginative intuition such as we apply to our friends, or through an intelligent combination of both processes is a matter of some importance for those who hold and preach that Christ is the Way, Truth, and Life.

Literary cultures

For this reason it is well worth while to institute an inquiry into the causes of the divergence of the French School of Spirituality, which puts its chief emphasis in meditation upon consideration,

from the Jesuit School which in the main emphasizes contemplation. This will lead us into a discussion of the literary cultures of three periods, the Patristic Age, the Middle Ages, and the French Renaissance. Lest this appear a strange and forced approach to the subject, a preliminary remark may be in place.

Spirituality is a term to describe the process by which a man by conscious and controlled effort approaches to God, or, to explain the metaphor, with the help of grace, perfects both intellectually and morally the image of God which he is in virtue of his intelligence and free will. This resemblance is at the same time perfected mystically through the increase of sanctifying grace resultant upon these efforts. Spirituality, then is a component of two movements, that of the soul towards God, and that of God towards the soul. This second movement is privileged, and may occur in any manner which God thinks fit. The first, like most human acts, is modified by what is known as the cultural climate. This is abundantly illustrated by the history of spirituality in the Church. Striking examples are provided in the rabbinical atmosphere of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the traces of Kantian philosophy in Newman.

As a further step it may be assumed that the culture of any period, except the most primitive, may be regarded in its humanistic aspects as classical, neo-classical, or romantic. Classicism is generally taken as denoting a fairly even balance of the three faculties involved in artistic production, namely, the intuitions of creative imagination, the reviviscence of remembered sense impressions, and the control of both by the calculating intelligence. In neo-classicism one notes a remission in the intensity of the creative imagination with a corresponding intensification of the alertness of intelligence. Abstraction, accordingly, replaces concrete symbol. Cleverness usurps the place of insight, and the purely aesthetic seems to retire to the level of diction, which in the case of the great neo-classics often attains astonishing brillance. In romanticism an opposite tendency is seen at work. Expression is often lax and unstudied, the main effort of the artist is poured into the grandiose visions of imagination, which, with the passions attendant upon them, tend to leave behind the calculations of understanding and the sober report of the senses. This analysis is applicable to three schools of spirituality whose viewpoints are pertinent to the problems here under consideration.

The Patristic Age

When St. Augustine was born, the classical age of Roman culture was no more than an ancient memory. The fortunes of the declining Empire denied sustenance to the creative imagination. Oratory had no voice on public questions, which were decided by palace intrigue. Tragedy and comedy had given place to what were once called vaudeville skits, and these, as all witnesses agree, were of a shocking frivolity and coarseness. There was a literature aimed at polite taste, a literature of the boudoir or of the pedant's study. It was an age of compendiums: abstracts of history, abstracts of science, abstracts of philosophy. None of these, aside from their archaeological interest, have the slightest value. They are store houses of useless information. Theological writing alone showed signs of vigor, and here, as was natural in an age of heresy, creative imagination was stifled in the atmosphere of didacticism and polemics.

From this dead sea of letters emerged at about the same time three very great writers whose talents might have attracted attention in any age. Ambrose, the first of these, was a poet. Jerome was a satirist of the authentic Roman stamp. Augustine, by the scope and power of his gifts, has won a place among the greatest names in the annals of mankind. Yet all three were forced by the pressures of the time to bend their energies to tasks which inhibited the free play of their genius. The bulk of their work, therefore, must be considered neo-classical. It was almost always brilliant. It was rarely creative.

This was particularly true of Augustine. That he had along with dialectical and communicative abilities of the highest order, a genuine, if limited, creative imagination is scarcely open to doubt. But one may inquire what type of imagination he exhibited. It is that of the great prose artist. This gift seems to work in three different directions, which I may be allowed to describe as outward, downward, and inward. By the first is meant the power of seizing a complex of universal or general principles involved in the understanding of a truth, event, or situation and projecting them in the order which will make them most effective. What the architect does with masses, the prose artist does with movements of thought. Pascal was hinting at this when he called it an eloquence of ideas produced by their sequence, or better by their relations, somewhat

as the eloquence of a sentence proceeds from the order and hence the relations of the words. One might prefer to call it the dramaturgy of thought. In any case the gift seems to be allied to the aesthetic instinct. The recognition of organic form in a prose composition, the perception of the unifying perspective and expressive proportion which allows an idea to announce itself with the utmost clarity and force is an element in the aesthetic experience of the reader. St. Augustine has this power of artistic construction and employs it with consummate skill in the *Confessions* and the *De trinitate*, as Marrou demonstrates in *St. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique.*

The second movement of the imagination, that which is usually regarded as its normal mode, is downward. It brings the high generalizations of abstract thought down to concrete images by selected detail or analogy. In this area the fecundity of St. Augustine's mind is very extraordinary. To read him is a perpetual refreshment; his richness of allusion reminds one of Shakespeare.

To invoke the name of the great dramatist, however, is a reminder that there is yet a third movement of imagination. This turns inward. It is penetration to the deeper sources of speech and action. It is creative intuition of character. Here St. Augustine, as might have been expected from what has already been said, fails to rise above the level of his age. Now, this is failure in the precise area where a writer who wishes to present Christ's character must be supreme. For reasons, which may have been personal as well as environmental, St. Augustine does not often so present our Lord. He reflects upon him; he does not contemplate him. His method of searching the Scriptures for doctrinal conclusions became standard until the twelfth century, the age of St. Bernard.

The Middle Ages

At that epoch a great renewal of thought and feeling was under way. The clash of the tribal culture of the peoples who had possessed themselves of the Western Empire with the ancient Roman civilization produced new concepts of society and all its arts. The literature of these rude Northerners had much to learn from the decadent South in the way of style and structure, but not in the all-important matter of the imaginative conception of heroic character. Beowulf, Sigurd, and Roland stand on level footing with

any characters in Greek and Roman epic. Ker says in *Epic and Romance,* "Roland is ideal and universal, and the story of his defeat, of the blast of his horn, and the last stroke of Durandel, is a kind of funeral march or heroic symphony into which a meaning may be read for every hero to the end of the world."

If it is asked, "What has this to do with St. Bernard?", the reply is that he and the author of *The Song of Roland* were of the same nation and class and possibly of the same generation. During Bernard's boyhood years the exploits of the First Crusade, *gesta Dei per Francos,* were in every ear. During the last four years of his adolescence, when, having finished his studies under the canons of St. Vorles he was waiting for his vocation to mature, he was reading, as references in his writings reveal, very extensively and avidly in Latin literature. It is hardly likely then, that he closed his ear when the jongleurs visiting his father's castle celebrated the heroes of his own blood and faith. Nothing is more likely, and the parallel case of St. Ignatius confirms the inference, than that a romantic enthusiasm kindled by epic poetry was carried over into his piety when he became a monk, a reformer, and a preacher of crusades.

The Bernardine devotion was destined to be a paradigm for medieval contemplation. A few sentences from Pourrat's *La spiritualité chrétienne* and from St. Bernard himself will make the matter clear. Pourrat tells us, "This monk of grim austerity knew well how to appeal to the heart and to the feelings. He excelled in bringing into relief the touching aspects of the lives of the Savior and the Virgin. Devotion derived from the events of our Lord's life appears much more prominently in the sermons of St. Bernard than in the homilies of the Fathers of the Church." St. Bernard himself declares, "Because we are carnal and born of the flesh, our love must needs come from the flesh. But if this love be well guided, it will gradually become, under the influence of grace, a spiritual love, for *that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural.*"

Now to cite a passage in the original: "Nota amorem cordis quodam modo esse carnalem, quod magis erga carnem Christi et quae in carne Christus gessit vel iussit cor humanum afficiat. Nihil audit libentius, nihil legit studiosius, nihil frequentius recolit, nihil suavius meditatur. Adest oranti Hominis-Dei sacra imago, aut nascentis, aut lactentis, aut docentis, aut morientis, aut adscenden-

tis; et quidquid tale occurrerit, vel stringat necesse est animum in amorem virtutum, vel carnis exturbet vitia, fuget illecebras, desideria sedet.

"Ego hanc arbitror praecipuam invisibili Deo fuisse causam quod voluit in carne videri et hominibus conversari, ut carnalium, videlicet, qui nisi carnaliter amare non poterant, cunctas primo ad suae carnis salutarem amorem affectiones retraheret atque ita gradatim ad amorem perduceret spiritualem."

"It may be said," continues Pourrat, "that all the mysticism of the Middle Ages has yielded to the influence of the great Cistercian orator." To put the idea in other terms, the insertion of medieval Romanticism into the asceticism of the Augustinian tradition may be taken as describing the spirituality which St. Ignatius at his conversion found awaiting the fusing and transforming touch of his genius.

The French Renaissance

To bring our founder's achievement into higher relief it will be well now to recall the origins of the French School which for upwards of three centuries has stood in contrast, and even, at times, in opposition to the Ignatian tradition. This will require some reflections on the Renaissance as it developed in France.

The Renaissance where it ran its natural course, as in Italy, opened with a period of discovery. Forgotten classics were unearthed and edited, or familiar texts were read with new eyes. Ideas and values which the Middle Ages tended to ignore, or if they were noticed, to deplore as evidences of pagan corruption, were now hailed as precious insights. In the second stage these ideas and values were incorporated in original works of art and literature. The third phase is that of reflection and criticism, and consequently of neo-classicism. The wisdom rather than the beauty of ancient writers, their intelligence, rather than their imagination, is the focus of humanistic interest.

In France, mainly because of political troubles leading to religious wars which ravaged the country with slight intermission from 1560 until 1640, the second or productive stage of the Renaissance was something of a disappointment. The brightest lights of French letters in the sixteenth century, Ronsard, Rabelais, and Montaigne, lose some of their lustre when set beside the Elizabethan galaxy.

It was not until the second quarter of the seventeenth century, that is, not until Jesuit education was solidly established in France, that the classical revival attained its mature creative strength.

It was during the most barren period of French culture, after more than thirty years of savage civil war, that inspiration came to Pierre de Bérulle, the founder of the French School, then doing his course of theology at the Sorbonne. A change had come over the University of Paris since St. Ignatius and his companions had frequented it sixty years earlier. Forced to reconsider St. Augustine because of the misuse of his authority by the reformers, the pessimism and rigorism of some of the views which the great doctor had incautiously espoused against the Pelagians, crept into the teaching of the doctors of the Sorbonne and inevitably perhaps, into the spirituality of their finest students. It is natural that a theology should beget an asceticism. If one believes, for example, that the sensible in man is so connected with concupiscence that grave suspicion attaches to any manifestations of instinctual life, one is a pessimist; and pessimism becomes rigorism when friendship, adventure, sport, literature, art, and music are banned on the ground that all these things are pleasant, and that pleasure, unless it comes from purely spiritual joy, weakens the dominion of grace over concupiscent man. One wonders how St. Ignatius might have turned out if he had attended the university during the Augustinian revival.

The French School

In the case of Pierre de Bérulle the issue was clear. Turning from the humanism of his former Jesuit teachers, he struck out on a line of spirituality, for which he could have found ample warrant in the writings of St. Augustine. The essential position in Bérulle's system is a conviction that human nature is so vile that its assumption by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity constituted a humiliation too deep to be fathomed by man. The proper object of meditation is not any supposed human character possessed by our Lord, but the various states of the Divine Person subjected to supreme humiliation. Thus, our Lord is to be considered as teacher, servant, atoner and the like, all denoting an infinite degradation from his essential dignity. These states result from substantial relations rising from the Incarnation, and since the hypostatic union is indissoluble, they

are perpetual. They also sum up Christ's relations to us, and suggest our duties in the way of imitation. Christianus est alter Christus. The primal duty of the Christian corresponds to the primal state of the God-man. His human nature is deprived of proper personality. It exists in a state of personal denudation, or better, exinanition. Our primal duty then, and it leads to our final perfection, is to denude ourselves of our personality, and this means, since we cannot destroy our principle of individuation, to act as though we were deprived of personal rights and preferences, renounce the exercise of dominion in the interior forum, as though we were dead to ourselves. We must find our sole joy and pleasure in sacrificing to God whatever joy and pleasure we might aspire to aside from him.

The logic as well as the nobility of this system appealed so powerfully to the mind and heart of Catholic France that its adherents could without arrogance call it the French School. Bérulle himself founded the French Oratory. Among his disciples to mention only world famous names are Jean-Jacques Olier founder of Saint Sulpice, St. Jean Eudes, founder of the Society of Jesus and Mary, St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers, St. Vincent de Paul, founder of the Congregation of the Mission, St. Louis-Marie de Montfort, founder of the Company of Mary. The French School surely dominated France in the days when France dominated European and particularly Catholic culture. It influenced, as we might expect, Jesuit spirituality.

The reason is not far to seek. If the French School was right in its inclusions, it could only be wrong, if wrong it was, in its exclusions. To take an attitude of hostility to a school so lucid in its thought, so courageous in its program, and so glorious in its heroic fruits would be to betray a narrowness of spirit hardly to be found outside a high school sorority. Certainly a hostile and even a critical attitude could expect little encouragement from St. Ignatius who wanted his sons to maintain a benevolent neutrality to all parties "though at variance among themselves." To what extent his own writings, say his doctrine of indifference, may be said to favor either rigorism or humanism is not our present concern. Certainly he finds room in the *Exercises,* along with the more frequent contemplations, for several considerations of our Lord's functions as leader, coun-

sellor, victim, consoler, and, if we read *Contemplatio ad amorem* rightly, as gift and crown.

In fact—and in conclusion—the genius of St. Ignatius is completely antithetical to that often attributed to him as a cool contriver, a hard and practical realist, a clever politician. In real life he had a comprehensive, many sided versatility such as we rarely encounter even in books. To draw an analogy from the literary tendencies mentioned before, he is a classical person, which means that he unites harmoniously all the gifts which it takes to make a man. Even creative imagination, perhaps the last faculty we would expect of him, is there. How else describe the power that selected from the matted forests of medieval spirituality the elements most to his purpose and than cast them into the perfect, the necessary form. The heart of the *Exercises* is the response of the knight to the king. What inducement does St. Ignatius hold out to make us embrace a life of rugged hardships? Videre Christum Dominum nostrum! But this is sheer Romanticism. He has full respect for the calculating intelligence and the fascinating, troublesome senses. Because of this capacity to contain many movements, many phases of the restless mind, he would presumably sympathize with those of his sons who held out hands of welcome to the saintly men and women of the French School, or who are enchanted with the fiery orator of Clairvaux (whose works incidentally were favorite meditation books in the Society during Ignatius' time) or who are admirers and would-be adapters of the first great teacher of the western Church.

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Edited by Robert C. Collins, S.J.

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

"The Sense of the Spiritual Exercises" ("Les sens des Exercices spirituels"), *by Jacques Lewis, S.J.*, **Lettres du Bas-Canada** 20 (1966) 6-38.

We are concerned here only with the integral Exercises—those which last about a month, and to which one gives his full time in silence and under direction. For here we best find Ignatius' thought, and, therefore, the notions which should rule adaptations of his retreat.

Ignatius reserved his full Exercises "raris hominibus," "nonnisi paucis," having these men make them only once, since their first goal is the election of a state in life. Every other long retreat foreseen by Ignatius—including that of the novitiate and tertianship—is an "experiment" of religious formation. Thus, we should not wish to give the complete Exercises to the greatest possible number of men. If we intend to give them at all, we should surely be faithful to them, remembering that fidelity is neither fixism nor literalism. It is rather a certain stability in the midst of evolution—an acclimatization of a vigorous reality.

Since the text of the *Exercises* is primarily a practical manual for the director of the retreat, one must consult other works of Ignatius if he would do justice to their spiritual richness. For example, the *Exercises* say little about the Holy Spirit, the Church as community, or our sacramental and liturgical life; yet one finds these topics treated in the *Letters, Story of a Pilgrim,* and *Spiritual Journal.* Finally, a last introductory observation is that for Ignatius one is not prepared to give the Exercises by the simple fact that he is a Jesuit; success with them supposes study and formation.

The Exercises as spiritual experience

It cannot be repeated too often that the Exercises were lived before they were written—that they are the fruit of an interior experience rather than an intellectual elaboration. A retreat should produce a true experience for the soul, analogous to that of Ignatius himself at Loyola-

Manresa. It should constitute an interior, living event for the retreatant, to whom the Lord communicates himself. The director's role is to discern the Lord's action, not to guide or influence it.

Ignatius' directives for the conduct of prayer, in which this action takes place, aim at establishing conditions for entering into the Christian mystery, remaining present to the Lord, and living the supernatural realities which the Exercises propose. The first annotation of the *Exercises* underlines the fact that prayer is also a means to dispose the soul to detachment and the discovery of God's will—that it is ordered towards the election. In each meditation there is "that which I seek" or "that which I wish and desire," while the whole ensemble of the Exercises aims at "ordering one's life." Thus, prayer composes our being and stamps it with its proper direction. The director's points for this prayer should be brief: they are only the sober presentation of the essential traits of a subject whose savor and import the retreatant will find for himself. True, the director often has before him people whose spiritual formation has been quite poor, but it is no less certain that they have been baptized and have the Spirit working within them. One does not give them the retreat to communicate knowledge or engender morality; one gives them the retreat to present the Christian mystery into which they are invited to enter.

It is also important to respect the differences among the diverse forms of prayer that Ignatius proposes, and to ensure their practice in the course of the retreat. Especially should the retreatant note the points where he experienced consolation or desolation and go back over them in the "repetitions." Ignatius' constant preoccupation is that the retreatant produce for himself an interior contact with the reality he contemplates —that he "feel and taste these things interiorly," thereby feeding his soul. This living adherence is realized especially in the exercises that bear on the life of Jesus. In Ignatius' contemplations one exposes himself to the mystery, confronts his own dispositions with its content, and applies it to himself in order to be really transformed by it. There is a reciprocal presence between the soul and the mystery, a contagion which the mystery works on the spiritual depths of our being. The life of the Lord is always actually present to us, because he transcends space and time. Thus we should receive his words and enter into his deeds as occurring for us right now.

The theology of the Exercises

Let us first retrace the elements at the origins of the Exercises, and then we can examine the tenor of the text itself. In examining Ignatius' reading at Loyola, Vagad's *Legende Dorée* and Ludolph of Saxon's

Vita Christi, we find many of the themes of the Exercises: magnanimity, chivalry, conquest of oneself and Satan, elections. We recognize as well the contemplations of the Kingdom and the Two Standards. Related to these readings was Ignatius' experience of different "spirits" acting in his soul. He perceived very concretely the initiative of God, coming to enlighten, expand, and move him towards a supernatural election, in opposition to the quite contrary tentatives of Satan. The Exercises also incorporate the lessons God communicated to Ignatius at Manresa. These enlightenments on the Trinity, creation, the real presence and the humanity of Christ, culminating in the synthetic illumination of the Cardoner, comprise less an objective contemplation than a wisdom ordered towards apostolic action. Later the essentials of the spirituality fashioned from these illuminations will be expressed in the vision of La Storta.

The general framework drawn from these experiences of Ignatius has our theological life proceeding from the Trinity and returning to it, while yet rooting itself in our Redeemer who makes his Spirit work in humanity and calls man to collaborate with his saving plan. Therefore we can discern in the Exercises three main traits: they reveal a spirituality which is kerygmatic, ecclesial, and missionary.

As for Paul and John, Ignatius' Lord is at once Creator and Redeemer. In the very first colloquy of the Exercises we see Jesus Christ as the creator who passes from eternal life to temporal death for our sake. This Lord calls us to follow him, and to labor with him for the kingdom, sending us his Spirit for our guidance and consolation. Do we not recognize here the *kyrios* announced by the apostles? The First Principle and Foundation bears a Christological interpretation (such that "God our Lord" is Christ), and this contributes to the conclusion that at the summit of the religious thought of the Exercises there is, as in the kerygma of the primitive Church, the Christ of glory from whom proceed creation and salvation.

The Exercises have been charged with individualism, and it is true that in Ignatius' little book the Church appears rather as the authority to which we must submit than as the community of believers—she is "the hierarchical Church." Furthermore, the exercises of the Kingdom and the Two Standards, expecially if one attends to their colloquies, contain the sacramental reality of the society of the baptised only doubtfully. However, Ignatius does manifest more ecclesial views in his other writings, and even in the Exercises there is a social or cosmic perspective. The king stands "before the entire universe which he calls" (95); He wishes "to unite all men under his standard" (137); and the Trinity "regards the whole surface and immensity of the earth and

all peoples" (106). (See also Nos. 23, 60, 71, 98, 151, 232, 236, 311.) Thus, while the Exercises may often have been given with an individualistic mentality, this is not in conformity with the spirit of Ignatius. He sees the exercitant as attentive to the Spirit in order to find the way which will give him access to the totality of beings and things—as searching for his own proper way of being, with Christ, present to the world.

The Exercises also show awareness of the social dynamism of the Christian condition, where conversion implies *mission.* Jesus Christ calls each man to collaborate in the plan for which he has descended on earth; he "sends his servants and friends on his expedition," urging them to "wish to aid all men." This is not to say that one finds in the Exercises all the modalities of Christian mission that we know today, but it is to say that the essential is there.

To conclude this section on the theology of the Exercises, we note that to present an Ignatian retreat which incorporates the perspectives of the New Testament one must remember that the Exercises are dominated by the Kingdom, and that both the Principle and Foundation and the fifth annotation must be interpreted in the sense of a kerygmatic Christology. It is the glorified Christ who is the "Creator and Lord" of the fifth annotation, the "God Our Saviour" of the Principle and Foundation, and the "Creator and Redeemer" of the fourth week.

Structure of the Exercises

What characterizes the Exercises is that they are contemplations for a spiritual choice. By prayer I enter into the data of revelation to discover, not only Christian spirituality, but my own personal way to live the mystery of Christ. Therefore Ignatius proposes as subjects for contemplation exercises which will engage our freedom. These constitute a march or movement, such that the stable dialectic of call and response becomes a continual progression. Yet among these exercises there are those which rule the overall framework of the retreat (Principle and Foundation and Kingdom), and those which directly view the election (Two Standards, Three Classes of Men, Three Kinds of Humility).

The spiritual milieu of the First Principle and Foundation is the creative presence and invitation of the Lord, while its goal is indifference: an unconditional acquiescence which will prefer whatever more conforms the retreatant to the divine will for him. In this way the third degree of humility is already globally present in the Foundation. But it is the Kingdom which is the living core of the Exercises. Here we have the actual presence of the Lord issuing His invitation to follow in the path He has traced, indicating His program, and drawing the response of the

retreatant. The Kingdom gives a crisp start to the election of the retreatant, who has now been purified and freed by the first week. Those exercises which bear directly on the election thus help to execute the doctrinal view of the kingdom, underlining the importance of the discernment of spirits.

What the structure of the four "weeks" of the Exercises amounts to is a mounting spiral: they repeat basic themes, always with greater precision, intensity, and spiritual depth. The first week attends to the sinful condition of man and aims at the suppression of disordered attachments. Only if one has entirely renounced his own will can he make a choice which would be a divine vocation. Ignatius' correspondence shows that he was aware of what we today call salvation history, and that he saw sin at the interior of the redemptive plan worked by God made flesh. This is the reason for the gratitude so marked in the first week, and why it should be seen as opening out on the Kingdom: "What should I do for Christ" who has saved me?

In the second week the retreatant, converted now by Him who has created, saved, and called him, begins to contemplate the mystery of Christ and appreciate the conditions of the kingdom. The election towards which this contemplation leads him comes, in Ignatius' view, from on high—from the Holy Trinity who communicate Christian life to us through the Incarnation. However, the retreatant must not so deliver himself over to the contemplation of these "joyous mysteries," in an unrealistic enthusiasm, that he forgets the radical poverty he came to appreciate in the first week. This would make him unappreciative of both the rude (even scandalizing) demands of Christ's message and his own subtle resistance to the spirit of the Gospel. And so, Ignatius is concerned if the retreatant does not experience diverse motions of the spirits: the message of Christ is bound to judge our egotism and cannot leave us tranquil.

The third week shows the profound toil which the Christ of the Kingdom has chosen, and the "sacred doctrine" of His standard. Here prayer reaches the level of unitive encounter, and the election receives an enhanced conformation to Christ poor and humiliated. In the third week contemplation descends into the abysses of the Servant of Yahweh, the *mecum* attains an unheard of intimacy, and the impulse to consecrate oneself to the Lord's service reaches an intensity impossible during the preceding weeks. This becomes the "desiring nothing but Christ, and Christ crucified, so that crucified in this life one mounts up towards the other resurrected" of which Ignatius speaks elsewhere.

Surprisingly, Ignatius places no exercise on the Resurrection itself in

the fourth week. This shows that he wished the Christ of Easter to be seen as risen to glory in order to work in the world and in the soul of the retreatant (see Nos. 223-224). The retreatant contemplates both the joy of Christ and the glory which will one day be his own, as the promised reward for laboring with Christ. Now the election is animated by the glory of the Paschal Christ, who communicates His power, joy, and divine life in such a way that the ideals of the Kingdom and the Two Standards—abnegation and apostolic devotion—seem possible and expanding. The Contemplation to Attain Love of God is the fruit of the four weeks. According to the directories of the early Society, it may be made during the whole last day of the retreat, or here and there through the final days of the fourth week. It is a transition from the Exercises to the daily life of all the days which follow them. The "love" of the Contemplation descends from on high, and the responding offer of the *Suscipe* has a eucharistic flavor: one returns to the Lord that which comes from Him. We should note that this love is peculiarly active: it is shown "more in deeds than in words." God gives what He has and is, in order to act in all that He gives. His desire is to be active with and through me (to save men)—that is Ignatius' vision. And so the contemplation appropriate to the Contemplation to Attain Love of God is, in Nadal's phrase, "contemplation in action." In the second preamble we ask to love and serve the divine majesty in all things. This relates to Ignatius' desire that Jesuits seek God in all things, whose consequence is that "everything is prayer." To live spiritually is to have familiarity with God, and to be an instrument united to him.

These thoughts on the Exercises surely neither exhaust the topic nor offer anything especially original. They suggest that the Exercises should contribute enormously to God's glory today, just as they did in Ignatius' time. But many seem to doubt this, and to deem them *passé*. In my opinion, the genuine pastoral solicitude inspiring this attitude questions more the understanding and use to which the Exercises have often been subjected, rather than their own reality. We must know the Exercises in themselves and from inside Ignatian spirituality if we are not to misuse them. We should joyfully agree to integrate with the Exercises all the acquisitions of the contemporary Church directed by the Spirit: biblical renewal, liturgy, the community-dimension of Christian experience. If they are living, the Exercises will fill the needs of our time, too. Profound prayer, the appropriation of salvation history, and the discernment of God's action in men are values for every era.

JOHN T. CARMODY, S.J.

IGNATIAN UNIVERSALISM

"Ignatian Universalism: Mystique and Mission" ("L'universalisme ignatien: mystique et mission"), *by Michel de Certeau, S.J.*, **Christus** 13 (1966) 173-83.

"Finding God in all things." "All blessings and gifts descend from above." The Ignatian man, because *everything* manifests that the Triune God loves more by actions than by words, actively experiences that he is seized both from within and from without by a world in which *everything* is the act of an effecting, universal love. The mystery of Being is identical with the mystery of Love.

But there is more—a crucified God. Through the Exercises, the Ignatian man awakens to Christ as the mysterious *subject* from whom comes interior desires. He awakens to Christ as the mysterious *object* toward which his actions and desires find their term. Prayer flowers in action, and action nourishes prayer.

Purity of *intention* attunes the Ignatian man to the inner attractions of the Holy Spirit, to Christ insofar as Christ is "in him." A *commission* unites the Ignatian man to the hierarchy of the Church, to Christ insofar as Christ is "before him." The Ignatian man is sent both by the Spirit and by the pope through superiors. He is charismatic and commissioned. Through a dialectic of love and obedience, the Ignatian man includes the *ecclesial* as one of the factors in the discernment of spirits. Through his examinations of conscience, he remains keen to inner attractions; through the *manifestation of conscience* these inner attractions are put in dialectic with objective and more universal needs. Both enhance each other and establish an ever greater (*magis*) fidelity to God.

During studies, especially, the Ignatian man must combine love and obedience, purity of intention and his commission to serve the Church. Since studies demand "the entire man," Ignatius especially recommends that the student find God in *all* things, "in conversations, in coming and going, in all that he sees, tastes, hears, and understands." All human experience must be a way to savor God.

Ignatian service: to find in order to seek ever more universally.

Harvey Egan, S.J.

DISCERNMENT OF SPIRITS

"Sketch for a Theology of the Discernment of Spirits" ("Bosquejo de una teología del discernimiento de espíritus"), *by Piet Penning de Vries, S.J.*, **Revista de Espiritualidad** 25 (1966) 90-97.

The article has four stages. It starts with the fundamental principle that discerning spirits is a personal and individual problem. Moreover,

the particular person who discerns faces a most intimate relation with the Holy Trinity. This relation is realized in an ecclesial context within the history of salvation. Lastly, there are some comments regarding a "natural" discernment of spirits. The difficulty of the task does not need to be underlined. It is obvious that immanence and transcendence in dialogue, a fully developed individual in community, the supernatural and the natural are poles very sensitive to any kind of combination.

Fr. De Vries starts by centering the problem in the discernment, not of an evil thing from a good thing, but between two good things of which man wishes *to elect* the better. Discernment of spirits is not a cold, abstract game of the intellect. It is the activity of an honest person and it is totally oriented towards an election, with all its lively implications in actual life. This perspective changes the whole outlook of the spiritual life of the individual who will be concerned primarily with his involvement and honesty to life. God's plan for humanity presupposes and includes an individual and personal plan for each man in particular. This is that "best" with which the discernment of spirits is concerned. It implies the gradual and progressive discovery of God's plan over me as an individual. At this stage there is no other alternative to the man seriously concerned about his eternal salvation than to remain complete free from his own will and desire, he must be indifferent in a postive way.

How do we know and discover what the Father wants of us as individual persons? The answer: in Christ. This answer puts us in the realm of mystery, since indifference would then be a participation in the indifference of Christ, and that is the cross: it is to die to the old man and to the old world, to be able to become a new man in a new world.

How is it possible to find a personal way towards the Father simply by sharing the life of the Son? Is it not true that all men will find in Christ the very same example? These questions lead us to the deeper level of discernment of spirits: the action of the Holy Spirit. If we are united to the Father in the Son *by the Spirit* (and there is no other way) this means that the Spirit is active in us as persons. This activity is the one that makes it possible for us to discover and experience the Father's will. Because of the presence of the Spirit, it is not *man* who encounters Christ, but this particular man, under the guidance of the Spirit. It is a spiritual reaction that has been called "consolation" (Fr. de Vries thought of calling his article "Consolation as the norm of our action"). This "consolation" belongs to the realm of what is most private to each person. In this way the discernment of spirits does not deal with the world as a whole with universal value, but with a concrete and existential situation that varies with each individual.

There is a further step. The Holy Spirit—and with Him the consolation of union with the Father in the Son—has been given primarily to the Church. That is why Ignatius delimits the boundaries within which our personal election must take place: within the Church, because the Church "posseses Christ's Spirit." This is a mystical argument and, somehow, it must be such on this level, since we are dealing with a soul's encounter with its God. This does not mean a complete passivity on the part of the members of that Church, but their active willingness to share in the same experience of the Spirit.

There is also a natural consolation, as opposed to the mystical consolation described above. It is the harmony of our affective life with God. Our whole being accepts the consolation of God's friendship and a prayerful dialogue. It is to accept ourselves as we are: sons of God. This acceptance reaches the deepest levels of our nature and out of it springs this natural harmony.

As a conclusion, Fr. de Vries defines what he understands by discernment of spirits: it is to experience, consciously or unconsciously, the Father's will in the contemplation of the Son, in the form of spiritual consolation, within the Church.

MARIO RODRIGUEZ, S.J.

IGNATIUS AT MONTSERRAT

"St. Ignatius' Stay at Montserrat" ("A propos du séjour de Saint Ignace à Montserrat"), *by Jean Leclercq, O.S.B.,* **Christus** 13 (1966) 161-72.

DOM LECLERCQ HAS PRODUCED AN INTERESTING REFLECTION upon a little known period in the life of Ignatius Loyola. He bases his thoughts on a document that has only recently come to light and which now in turn sheds light on the mind of Ignatius.

Leclercq points out that many commentators have noticed the similarity between the Ignatian mind as seen in the *Constitutions* and *Exercises*, and the rules of the great monastic founders, Basil, Cassian, and Benedict. This verbal affinity would be natural since Ignatius was writing within the tradition of the religious life in the Church and could not help but use and reflect the sayings, customs, and laws of the past. However, two questions arise, for Ignatius has always been considered as the religious founder of an order which broke out of the monastic tradition. Did Ignatius merely use traditional expressions but give them a new and different meaning? The second question flows out of the first: can one find a deeper tie between Ignatius and the great monastic tradition than merely verbal associations?

Dom Leclercq says in this article that the second question must be answered in the affirmative and that therefore the first question or proposition must be re-examined and also rethought in the light of the second. He shows that in the mind of Ignatius and those close to him—Laynez and Araoz are given as two special sources—there was no spiritual gap between the monastic and the Jesuit lives: that Ignatius easily thought of himself as a "pilgrim," "a wanderer for Christ" (*pèlerin, peregrinari pro Christo*), which are two great themes used to express the monastic vocation. How could Ignatius so interpret his own life and actions? The answer is to be found in the period spent at Montserrat as recounted in this previously unnoticed document upon which Leclercq depends and which he gives in a French translation from the original Latin or Spanish.

Fr. Araoz, who knew Ignatius so well, relates the incidents. He tells of the impression that Ignatius made upon the monks of Montserrat as he came day after day from his cave on the mountain down to the monastery for Mass and other religious exercises, and for alms to keep himself alive. Eventually the monks became concerned over the dangers that he faced from wild animals and tried to have him come down from his retreat. A boy was sent to find where he lived. Then they sent to speak to him the monk who had first noticed Ignatius at the door on all these days and had observed Ignatius' work among the other poor. He reprimanded Ignatius for tempting God; but when Ignatius answered and explained his purpose, the monk returned to the abbey without a word. When he reported to the abbot, all came to esteem even more the man living in isolation and prayer. Ignatius continued to pray before the cross erected upon the mountain and to endure the temptations and visions that attacked him.

The point of Leclercq's article comes when he interprets the events and elements of this story. Leclercq shows that this story in its general theme and in its details is inseparable from the monastic tradition. One could compare Ignatius in his cave with the life of Benedict at Subiaco; the monks with the shepherds who saw Benedict; the visions and temptations of Ignatius and also his remedy, the cross, with the difficulties encountered by the famous monks of the desert; Ignatius' desire for solitude with the Benedictine "*habitavit secum*"; the accusation of rashness against Ignatius with the charges made against many saints of being "fools for Christ." Leclercq notes at this point how important a theme this last element is in the Ignatian writings, both the *Constitutions* and *Exercises*, all based on the Pauline theme of the folly of the cross. Finally, Leclercq notes the later insistence of Ignatius upon solitude for the retreatant, that he cut himself off from ordinary cares to devote him-

self to being alone with God.

In the end Leclercq asks, what did Ignatius change from the monastic tradition? To be sure Ignatius did not oppose solitude but demanded it for the long retreats and for any other retreat. Mortification and penance again were insisted upon by Ignatius but they were to be done in a moderate fashion. (Here one thinks immediately that such is the great claim of Benedictine monasticism, that it moderated the excessive demands of earlier monastic movements, and so, like Ignatius, reduced them to means rather than ends in themselves, as some earlier groups had tended to do; but this reflection is only implicit in Leclercq's article).

Basically, then, the Ignatian and monastic ideals are not disjunct but common: "to seek, to find, and to follow as perfectly as possible whatever is God's will for me to do for the salvation of my soul." The difference is only in the means employed. Both seek to follow the way of Christ, with humility, interiority, and mortification leading to the cross and resurrection. Ultimately, Leclercq points out, the apostolic life that Ignatius followed requires solitude and interiority if one is to bring Christ to the neighbor, while in the end the monk by his experience of God will be made into a "spiritual father" in the true sense and enabled and enjoined to help others. And so, at this level, the hermit and the apostle are again joined. They are two roads, but both lead to the one charity towards God and man.

THOMAS E. MORRISSEY, S.J.

THE RETREAT MASTER

"The Roll of the Retreat Master" ("Die Rolle des Exerzitiengebers"), *by Josef Sudbrack, S.J.*, **Geist und Leben** 4 (1966) 288-300.

THIS ARTICLE OUGHT TO COME AS A CONSOLATION to those retreat givers who fear that all the contemporary retreatant wants is for them to "shut up." Sudbrack finds the literature surprisingly reticent on the subject of the role of the retreat director—at least in an articulate theological sense—and tries to offer a partial remedy with this article.

Without reducing the retreat master to a non-directive counselor, Sudbrack draws a parallel between the methodology of the psychotherapist and the giver of retreats. Both are there to serve as delicate guides to a deeper self-understanding and to personal decision. Thus neither must "get in the way" of their patients' freedom; they must serve as catalytic agents for decision-making on the part of others. The textual basis for this inhibition on the part of the retreat director lies in the twenty "introductory observations" which Ignatius lays down at the

beginning of the *Exercises* for the retreat master. There is made clear the restraint which he must impose upon himself (especially in the second, fourteenth, and fifteenth). The retreat director must always bear in mind that he "should permit the Creator to deal directly with the creature" (15). And this indeed is the underlying drive and purpose behind the Exercises, that they are to lead to an unmediated encounter between God and man. Thus the primary "dialogue-partner" is Jesus Christ, and the meditations on His life are intended to realize this encounter experientially. The retreat master is supposed to "occasion" this, not substitute for it.

But this encounter cannot occur in a spiritualist vacuum. In a time when God's light is in eclipse, and the sacraments of secularity leave little room for different ones, it is evident that man does not come to God in sheer solitude, nor without faith. But that faith must be living, embodied, and proclaimed in the lives of others. Bookish religion and reports of bygone events will not suffice. This is where the role of the retreat master finds its theological foundation. He represents, sacramentally as it were, the living faith; he is one who has been touched by the Spirit who gives the People of God their contemporary vitality. Vatican II gave witness to the fact that this Spirit is not primarily to be found in hierarchical structure, nor in juridical prescription, nor in the work of dogmaticians or exegetes, but in the living bearers of the promises of Christ. And if men have thus been touched, they can and should speak out. And so retreat directors. . . . But they should remember that it is God, and not themselves, with whom the exercitant must primarily speak. Thus while they may guide and correct as "masters," it is equally true that they must know when to withdraw and allow the Spirit to work directly. Thus the place of scriptural meditations in the Exercises, and their centrality. The word of Scripture—already a testimony to the actuality of God's encounter with men—must be allowed to address the retreatant directly in his freedom.

But as a preliminary and stimulus to this end, the dialogue which the director undertakes with his exercitants is crucial. It is in the encounter with our fellow men that we find God. The dialogue here cannot be construed as a distraction from the silence and peace which is needed to dispose one for a higher kind. It is rather the prerequisite, and anyone who has actually experienced the dramatic effects of a serious "spiritual" conversation with a good retreat director knows this. It probably was the high point of the retreat, able as nothing else to dissipate the atrophy and fatigue from our faith. The shock of meeting "real faith" in another can do that.

David S. Toolan, S.J.

JESUIT COMMUNITY

"The Body of the Society" ("Le corps de la Compagnie"), *by François Roustang, S.J.*, **Christus** 13 (1966) 332-45.

IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY is more than the spirituality of the Exercises, which could lead to individualism. The *Constitutions* make clear the basic insight that "the community constitutes the person before the person can become constitutive of the community." Ignatius expresses the personal formation of the novice and scholastic in terms of his becoming an active member of the Society. For Ignatius the vow of obedience is a means of integrating the individual into the Society. Obedience is not an individual virtue, but is always subordinated to the principal bond of union, the love of God. If it implies renunciation and a death, it is a death to self-sufficiency and isolation. The professed's promise of obedience to the Pope characterizes and forms the social structure of the Society as well as the personal goals of the individual Jesuit. Thus the professed members of the Society are more constitutive of community inasmuch as they have a greater responsibility to form, maintain, and increase the Society. Ignatius' notion of community, however, extends beyond the confines of the Society; for in his eyes that which constitutes members of the Society as persons and as a community is their transcendent dedication to the universal good of men, i.e., the good of each man.

ROBERT E. WHITE, S.J.

PAST AND PRESENT

"The Trial of the Times" ("L'épreuve du temps"), *by Michel de Certeau, S.J.*, **Christus** 13 (1966) 311-31.

THE JESUITS HAVE, WITH THE HELP OF THE PAST, to determine what their spirit should be today, and, with the people of our times, to judge their origins and decide what will be their commitment as men, Christians, and Jesuits. They have to determine if there is still reason to be called Jesuit or if their institution is for men rooted in the present a mere fiction labelling a reality completely different from the historical Jesuit order.

In our present existential situation we have to ask ourselves, for our own sake and for the sake of others, who we are and what services we can perform.

We are men of our times, but depend on our past. Inquiring about our identity, we turn to our origins because we think that there must be something there which is the secret of our present. But though the

past appears to be our native country, it is also a deserted country. We have to discover there a spirit somehow lost in our evolution, but we also reject the language of this spirit as obsolete. A spirit is hidden there, but its expression has become unintelligible for us. But even this step in the direction of our origins is the first step in the building of a new language: we admit that our past is neither completely irrelevant nor completely under our control. We could get some insight if we let our past resist us (because we are dependent on it), and if we are able to resist it (because we are still creative).

The resistance of the past appears first because it is what it is and not what we might want to make it by intellectualizing it. When we read our history as it is written by others, we can discover how our past—even in the points we think peculiar to us—is dependent on the culture of its time. But at the same time we have to discern beyond the concrete forms (colleges, missions, etc.) the spiritual act which animated them: the sense of God which was translated into human achievements necessarily planned in dependence on the cultural structures of the time and place. But that shows also how the Society fit in with the time of its origin and how certain institutions would be now only a survival of the past. Recognition of this fact gives us a new creative freedom: the correspondence of the institutions with their time shows us the necessity of responding to our own epoch. But it gives us also a lesson in modesty: in what we want to do today we will always have the mark of our particular time as well as the accent of our origins and our history. In our efforts at renovation we will depend on our past, even if we deny it.

The past begins to resist us at the moment when we want to be liberated from it to be up-to-date. But the past is not monolithic: there is not one tradition, but traditions. It seems, moreover, that, in the light of the history of the Nadal-Ignatius divergences, it is possible to show three kinds of relations among the traditions: (1) all interpretations are referred back to the founder and called "Ignatian"; (2) the confrontation of Nadal's elaboration with the original language of Ignatius reveals a certain rigidity and one-sidedness in the development. This confrontation helps justify and correct the new interpretations by modifying them and making their meaning clear; (3) a pluralism of interpretations which is necessary for a sane evolution. Thus it is possible to see the deterioration of the Society when it diminshes its relations with more dynamic groups as the poor, the intellectuals, the powerful. What injects into a tradition the poison of a new time is also what saves it from inertia.

A big difference, however, appears in our time: where our predeces-

sors saw continuity we perceive the rupture. Men like Nadal would have protested if they were accused of innovating. As a matter of fact, the past and history has always been rewritten in function of the present. Our perception starts from the present and we ask ourselves what we will do with our past, felt as *passé*. From the very beginning we are heretics toward the past. The problem is to avoid being so unconsciously or with unhappy results. Just as we are tempted to deny our dependence on the past, we are tempted also to underestimate the extent of change and act as if we had to preserve some earlier immutable forms (but which?) or to consider some particular contemporary values as original (but which?). In fact we see that this labelling of "immutable" values changes in history. We are referred back to the founder as the only authentic witness to Ignatian spirituality.

We must see for ourselves in our past something other than luggage to leave behind or the archeology of the present. This is the way to be saved from the "heresy of the present" which is characterized by exclusivity. It denies the past and our brothers of yesterday. It refuses to take its place in the history which began before us. In fact, a double confrontation is necessary: a dialogue with our contemporary fellowmen, and a dialogue with the tradition. Then we can enter definitely on the way of mutual recognition. A new boldness is the true fruit of fidelity.

GÉRARD FOUREZ, S.J.

THE CAMPUS AS CLIMATE FOR MORAL GROWTH

no problem seems to be as universally acknowledged

MICHAEL P. SHERIDAN, S.J.

ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO DELVE very deeply into the ever-expanding literature on the field of higher education before one or two basic facts become distressingly obvious. The first of these is that the 2,168 institutions of higher learning in this country are so diverse in origins, philosophy, and mode of operation that generalized statements are hazardous if not useless. The second fact is that among the scholars who write on the field, men not necessarily wedded to the institutional philosophy of any particular college, there is an equal diversity of views. However, some solace is to be taken in the common acknowledgment of certain problems by scholars and administrators. Technical problems, in many instances, seem common to many campuses; studies of school calendar experiments, of work-study programs, of off-campus study activities and the like now abound.[1]

At the present time, no problem seems to be as universally acknowledged as the problem of the student. What has happened is truly revolutionary. Educators have ceased speculations about what the ideal student *should* be—e.g., the "profile of the Jesuit college graduate"—and have become acutely concerned with what the modern student actually *is*. Psychology and (more important

[1] Of principal interest in this field would be the series of monographs published by the Institute for Higher Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, under the general direction of Earl J. McGrath.

now) sociology have been able to make observations to which the college administrator must pay heed if important goals are to be attained. That this is so should seem pellucid; philosophically, one cannot intelligently speak of the *terminus ad quem* without having analyzed the *terminus a quo,* to break away from those categories, the ideal cannot be considered without reference to the real. Within the framework of Catholic higher education, a study of the college student is singularly important if, as some will maintain, a primary and viable goal of this activity is value change.

Assumptions and failures

But before examining the subject of value change (or, to put it differently, moral growth), it is necessary to restate the assumption that value change is a vital function of Catholic higher education. Perhaps ten years ago it would not have been important to do this; it was taken for granted. But two factors have served to push this goal to the background. First, the increased secularization of the world in general has perforce affected the world of higher education. True, some colleges have been able to maintain an otherworldly orientation; but these institutions are looked at now as academic curiosities. The Catholic colleges, in a justifiable effort to insure their students' success in the world of secular learning, have developed the status of secular learning to the point that religious learning has been minimized. Says Edward Wakin:

> More than 300 Catholic colleges and universities are being forced to face an embarrassing dilemma: in trying to retain a Catholic identity they may risk loss of acceptance in the educational mainstream or in gaining that acceptance they risk loss of any significant Catholic identity. The better Catholic colleges and universities suffer from the latter tendency and the result is an ambiguous, if not misleading, identity.[2]

Significantly, the line of defense taken by the Catholic educators in the recent court case contesting the constitutionality of financial aid from the State of Maryland to church-related institutions bore this charge out. Witnesses seemed determined to convince the court that these schools were in reality no different from any other institution of higher learning.

A second factor involved seems to a sense of failure on the part of many Catholic educators. Even before the new breed of student

[2] Edward Wakin, "How Catholic Is the Catholic College?" *Saturday Review,* (April 16, 1966), p. 92.

began telling us we were not reaching him, there were signs of distress. The Greeley-Rossi study entitled *The Education of Catholic Americans* presents some alarming facts, which suggest that Catholic higher education is not as effective as it could have been in moral areas.[3] The youthful writer of an open letter to the president of Notre Dame recently published in a national magazine reiterated the problem:

> There used to be a time when a student coming to Notre Dame was introduced, after a fashion, to the living of the Christian life. But processions, Benediction, visits to the grotto, the rosary, and devotion to Mary can no longer do the job. Whether this is a desirable situation is discussable, but it is a fact. These things have been swept away, and nothing is taking their place. A *pastoral vacuum* exists, and it seems that nothing short of working out a *pastoral plan* for the building up of Christianity at the university can deal with the problem.[4]

The eight Catholic university presidents who replied to the letter admitted that the writer had a point.

At the same time, though, there is enough data at hand to allow for a positive approach. The administrators committed to Catholic higher education (such as those replying to the letter cited above) are not visionaries; they are used to facing cold realities. Perhaps five years ago, an article such as this one would not have been published. Or, if it were, it would have been challenged at once by spokesmen for Catholic higher education—not accepted as having some validity. The stance of the administrators can be taken, I think, because there is room for optimism now. We have achieved a certain degree of sophistication in this whole business of aiding the moral development of students; when we acknowledge failures and ineptitude, we do so with some measure of confidence.

Theoretical considerations

The principal scope of this paper is to point out areas in which the college can create an atmosphere conducive to moral growth. We no longer talk in terms of changing the values of students as though by some efficient cause; we talk in terms of assisting students to develop their own moral life. A number of elements have

[3] Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

[4] Ralph Martin, Jr., "Letter from a Catholic College Graduate to the President," *Ave Maria* 103, No. 16 (April 16, 1966) 9.

become more clearly defined in recent years, partly through the assistance of empirical science, and partly through an evolving philosophy of education. We will speak of three of them before making some concrete suggestions and observations.

1) The relationship of knowledge to virtue within the context of higher education has undergone a rather intense scrutiny. We have, of course, long since abandoned the notion that knowledge is virtue —at least as a basic philosophical tenet. Yet, for many years a vocal segment of theoreticians in Catholic higher education held that knowledge was indeed the primary concern of the Catholic college, and that what took place in the realm of moral, religious, and spiritual development of the student was a by-product, however laudable. Thus Fr. Henle:

> Since the college as an institution aims at the full development of human personalities, its objective includes the development of moral virtue and supernatural character. However, since the immediate objective of the teaching (and, in general, academic) activities of the college is understanding, knowledge, and truth, the development of character can be an objective of *teaching* only secondarily and indirectly (1) through the intrinsic influence of knowledge on character, (2) through the incidental effects of the teaching situation. The college may and indeed should promote character development through other activities (e.g., religious counseling, retreats, etc.) directly ordered to virtue.[5]

Happily, this point of view was rejected by an important meeting of Jesuit educators, convinced as they were that the objectives of Jesuit (and, indeed, of all Catholic) education includes directly the moral development of the student.

> In the Jesuit view, education includes the development and perfecting of the total human being. Hence no education is complete unless it includes the intellectual, moral, religious, and spiritual development of the student. Thus, the moral, religious, and spiritual formation, which is of particular importance at the collegiate level, is an over-all and essential objective of every Jesuit college. To this formation all the activities and all the personnel of the college must contribute, according to their own natures and functions within the institution.[6]

Nevertheless, the force of tradition on Catholic campuses—or on

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[5] R. J. Henle, S.J., "The Objectives of the Catholic Liberal Arts College"; this paper, originally presented at a meeting of Jesuit Deans in Santa Clara in 1955, was reprinted in J. Barry McGannon *et al.*, eds., *Christian Wisdom and Christian Formation* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964); this quotation is found at page 29.

[6] McGannon *et al.*, *ibid.*, p. 279.

any campus—is not to be dismissed lightly. Catholic higher education is heir to a legacy strongly oriented toward the knowledge-equals-virtue syndrome, though seldom stated with the cogency of Fr. Henle's complete argument. For the assumption was (and still is in many places) that the ethical principles learned in the regular deontology course will provide the student with sufficient ammunition and motivation to assure the leading of a moral life.

Both words—ammunition and motivation—are crucial. The first reflects the defensive polemicism which characterized the philosophy and theology in Catholic higher education for decades. Born of an era when Catholics were a disrespected and beleaguered minority, it was calculated to *prove*—first to the Catholic students and then to the enemy poised outside the walls—the reasonableness of the "Catholic position." But now, in an era according respect to Catholicism, one questions the necessity of this apologetic-polemic approach.

As for motivation, the assumption was that the sheer lucidity of the ethical principles inculcated during course work should insure their acceptance. But, as Fr. Klubertanz points out, presentation of the principle is simply insufficient.[7] Something more is required. The student must, somehow, be urged to live morally or, as we submit here is more important, be given the chance to develop and live a full Christian life within the confines of the collegiate environment.

2) Psychology and sociology have attested that students do indeed change values during the course of their years in college, that the college itself can play an important role in this regard, and that the peer group influence in this context is crucial. A word about each of these points is in order.

In his famous study, P. E. Jacob charged in 1957 that no evidence could be found for "significant changes in student values which can be attributed directly to the character of the curriculum or to the basic courses in social science which students take as part of their general education."[8] Yet, other more sophisticated studies show that Jacob's findings must be nuanced to a high degree. Newcomb's

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[7] George P. Klubertanz, S.J., "Knowledge and Action," *ibid.*, pp. 38-68.

[8] P. E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College* (New York: Harper, 1957), p. 5.

earlier study detected value change in students at Vassar[9] and Plant's much more recent study indicates that college students show marked changes in the areas of dogmatism, ethnocentrism, and authoritarianism.[10]

In 1959, the American Council on Education sponsored a study which examined the role of the college in general upon the formation of character.[11] The implications of the report are important, for they point the way toward the impact of the whole institution on the student's moral development. Such elements as the college's expectations of students, the faculty's conceptions of the teaching role, the organization of the curriculum, the degree of student responsibility, the place of religious practice, and the effect of the college environment were analyzed, and all were found to have a distinctive role insofar as they had an effect on the student.

The influence of the peer group, however, may turn out to be *the* critical question. While Scott's study of fraternities and sororities proved little else than that homogeneously formed groups tend only to reinforce the values held by the group, the wealth of material contained in Sanford's monumental work shows the pervasive effects of peer group influence in many settings.[12] Once this still diffused evidence is gathered and evaluated, it may be that college administrators will have to give some further serious thought to processes of admission, taking into consideration factors other than academic potential to a much greater degree.

3) The third insight providing a basis for thought is the simple rediscovery of an old truth: students learn by doing. While this axiom was hardly denied by educators for some time, the assumption was that the "doing" would take place at a later time and at a place removed from the campus. It may have taken the catalyst of a Berkeley to reinstate this principle, although alert student person-

[9] T. M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change* (New York: Dryden, 1943).

[10] J. C. McCullers and W. T. Plant, "Personality and Social Development: Cultural Influences," *Review of Educational Research* (December, 1964) 599-610.

[11] Edward J. Eddy, Jr., *The College Influence on Student Character* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1959).

[12] William A. Scott, *Values and Organizations* (Chicago: Rand and McNally, 1965); Nevitt Sanford, ed., *The American College* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962).

nel administrators were aware of it prior to that maelstrom.

Fr. Ratterman, speaking to a recent convention group, stated the situation aptly:

> . . . (It) is difficult to see how he (the student) will ever achieve not just the truth but the willingness to fulfill the responsibilities of truth unless he actively participates in his own education. His university experience must lead toward what amounts to a free commitment to specific personal and societal responsibilities. He must learn not just freely to accept truth but freely to live truth, and this precisely as a result of his university experience. This is the "whole man" developing. At a very minimum the university experience must include very significant self-participation and self-involvement. This places a tremendous responsibility on the student. But it places a perhaps even greater responsibility on the university to provide the means whereby students will become interested, involved, and active in the primary mission of the university. . .[13]

What is being called for, needless to say, is a different concept of the university; what is being called for is the construction of a climate suitable for moral growth, an end to the assumption that meaningful moral activity is something to be engaged in *after* the formality of college education.

Administration's contribution

With these points in mind, we would like to investigate six areas, seemingly unrelated, in which the college can strive to achieve what we have already termed "the climate for moral growth." It is not, nor intended to be, an exhaustive list; the choices are quite possibly conditioned by some of the more news-worthy areas of conflict currently under public scrutiny.

1) *The make-up of the student body.* Complete homogeneity is, in all likelihood, neither possible nor desirable. If student peer group influence is as crucial as the data tend to show, it would seem desirable to assure a measure of heterogeneity—as insurance against the stultifying effects of homogeneity (as Scott's study points out) and insurance for a flow of different points of view. In this regard, it might be well to take pains that a significant number of students in the Catholic college are non-Catholics. One is led to wonder if the words of *The Declaration on Christian Education* of Vatican II

[13] Patrick H. Ratterman, S.J., "Background Considerations and Norms—Student Rights and Freedoms on the Catholic University Campus," speech delivered to the College and University Division of the National Catholic Education Association on 14 April, 1966.

are not indeed applicable here:

> To this ideal of a Catholic school, all schools which are in any way dependent on the Church should conform as far as possible, though Catholic schools can take on forms which vary according to local circumstance. Thus the Church feels a most cordial esteem for those Catholic schools, found especially where the Church is newly established, which contain large numbers of non-Catholic students (No. 9).

Even secular schools, in their admission policies, have seen the wisdom of providing for wide geographic distribution; more recently have they become aware of the need for similar distribution through socio-economic classes. Since Catholic colleges no longer have to look to a protective function to justify their existence, it may be that the time is ripe for some bold steps toward achieving much more heterogeneity.

2) *The curriculum.* Mentioned above was the weight of tradition in the determination of theology and philosophy curricula. Something of the same ilk seems to be operative in the curriculum throughout the liberal education put forth in many Catholic institutions; it is traditional, often enough based on an outdated faculty psychology, and blissfully confident of its own power. Why have Catholic colleges been so slow to innovate? Why is it that the very first recommendation made by the recent Danforth Commission on Church-Related Colleges and Universities is for "a more experimental approach?"[14] One might well investigate at this juncture the beneficial effects of off-campus programs during college years—even the ones which remove the student from the campus for a semester or a year.[15] Such programs invite action, participation, *doing.*

In any event, what is called for is a fresher approach to the curriculum, an approach which may quite possibly call for a total revision of the treatise on liberal education. Moral growth is much more likely to be fostered in a climate which encourages mobility, adaptation, and experimentation.

3) *Control over students.* This is a subject that has been over-

[14] Manning M. Patillo, Jr., and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1966), p. 51.

[15] Cf. Samuel Baskin, ed., *Higher Education: Some Newer Developments* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965). See especially Chapters 3 and 4.

worked in recent months; we would make one point here. The point has been reached at which it is acknowledged that students, as persons, do indeed have some rights. It is no longer possible for colleges and universities, especially Catholic institutions whose existence should call for witness to the dignity of the individual, to decide arbitrarily what rights students have and don't have—usually as ad hoc solutions to crises. What is called for now is some serious policy planning carefully delineating the rights and duties of the student body within the framework of the university community.

In recent months, the American Association of University Professors has made public a document stating what it holds to be the rights of students.[16] Students in at least two Jesuit colleges have done the same thing. These moves should not be regarded as incipient revolutions, but rather as an attempt to work out a *modus vivendi* based on something other than authoritarianism and/or paternalism. Katz and Sanford have stated the facts somewhat brutally:

> In the last eighteen months, one central fact has emerged: namely, that students have arrived as *a new power,* a fourth estate which is taking its place beside the traditional estates of faculty, administration, and trustees. What is more, the situation is irreversible.[17]

It is not, in the last analysis, simply a situation of power politics. There has simply come to be more of a recognition of the rights possessed by students, though it may have taken a few power plays to force this recognition.

If moral growth is to be fostered, the colleges would be well advised to formulate policy, and to involve students in the formulation. Growth simply cannot occur in a restrictive environment.

4) *Utilization of residence halls.* It is extremely difficult for this writer to comprehend how the goals of a university can be achieved with an entirely transient student body. Sociologist Charles Bidwell of the University of Chicago has long been concerned with this problem, and apparently feels that a residential college is in a far superior position to effect moral change.[18]

This contention is, of course, debatable; we cannot argue it here.

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[16] Cf. *AAUP Journal,* (Winter, 1965).

[17] Joseph Katz and Nevitt Sanford, "The New Student Power and Needed Educational Reforms," *Phi Delta Kappan* 47, No. 8 (April, 1966), 397.

[18] Charles E. Bidwell and Rebecca S. Vreeland, "The Residential College as an Administered Community," unpublished study, University of Chicago, 1962.

But what must be considered is this: a great deal of study has gone into the role of residence halls as a part of the learning environment, and it does seem that proper utilization of them will tend to accomplish much.[19] There are now specialists in dormitory ecology; their studies indicate that much more planning must go into the construction of dormitory buildings in order to insure cohesive sub-groups. These sub-groups can be influenced by faculty members, especially when faculty members live in the dormitories.[20]

In short, dormitory planning must be much more than utilitarian —and utilitarianism is the great temptation here. Administration's concern with residence halls must become much more than negative; they can be used.

5) *The personal element.* During the Berkeley demonstrations, one student was seen carrying a sign which read "I am a human being. Do not fold, spindle, or mutilate." With Catholic higher education almost universally facing the problem of bigness, caution must be encouraged lest a fallacy prevail. That fallacy contends that bigness itself is conducive to moral growth, for, as the argument goes, the student is forced to think and decide for himself.

It would be unrealistic, at least in the context of this paper, to urge Catholic colleges to curb growth in the interest of providing a climate for moral growth. What must be encouraged instead, it appears, is a policy which insures professional help to any student who needs it during the formation of his own value system. Specifically, the student personnel office must shed its police role and broaden its concern to include adequate psychological and psychiatric assistance for the students who need it.

This recommendation is not out of place in this paper, since we can no longer assume that only a small number of students require such professional assistance. The facts seem to indicate otherwise. And moral growth cannot occur satisfactorily in a subjectively unstable environment.

6) *The role of dissent.* Implicit in all this discussion so far has been the need for involvement, for activity and participation on the

[19] Ralph C. Leyden, "Residence Halls as an Integral Part of the Learning Environment," G. Kerry Smith (ed.) in *Current Issues in Higher Education 1966* (Washington: Association for Higher Education, 1966) pp. 253-56.

[20] Howard R. Neville, "How to Live with Bigness," *Phi Delta Kappan* 47, No. 8 (April, 1966) 430 ff.

part of the students. But if, as some contend, a basic problem of apathy is to be overcome, what is to act as a catalyst? One might say that ordinarily dissent will serve this purpose, and that, moreover, among the present generation of students, dissent will not be found lacking. Max Lerner, for instance, maintains that the "revolutionary frame of our time" will guarantee dissent.[21]

If Lerner is correct, it would seem that the college's task is not to stifle dissent, but to utilize it. Moreover, a case can be made for the obligation of the college to *encourage* dissent. In the concrete, this means: the toleration (or even the seeking out) of controversial speakers; the toleration of student dissent when it is done within the context of law and order; the zealous defense of academic freedom within the university; in fine, a careful guarding against the closed mind.

Insofar as the university—at least the faculty and the administration—constitutes something of a vested interest, there is a natural inclination to view dissent as a threat. But, ultimately, what is to be feared? If students are temporarily disoriented owing to the apparent credibility of "unorthodox" opinions, are they not in the process gaining intellectual and moral stature? One must bear in mind Fr. John Courtney Murray's definition of the pluralistic society: men locked together in argument. It is within this milieu that moral growth will best take place, especially within the broader context of a free and pluralistic society.

By the way of summary, we will merely repeat that the college's principal task is to create a climate which will foster moral growth. Such a climate is not, we believe, a protective one; it is one in which students are encouraged to act, to think, to respond to stimuli. In all these areas, the college keeps a discreet surveillance, coming to the aid of the student whenever and however it can. But the student ultimately develops himself. The college merely makes it possible for him to do so.

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[21] Max Lerner, "The Revolutionary Frame of Our Time," in Lawrence E. Dennis and Joseph F. Kauffman (eds.), *The College and the Student* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1966), pp. 8-22.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD AND MARRIAGE

The Open Circle: The Meaning of Christian Brotherhood. *By Joseph Ratzinger.* Translated by W. A. Glen-Doeple. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966. Pp. 128. $3.50.

This book is a translation of a 1958 address by Fr. Ratzinger to the Theological Congress of the Austrian Institute for Pastoral Work. Unfortunately, it shows its age somewhat. In addition, it seems questionable to translate what was originally a forty-odd page article in *Seelsorger* for that year into large print on small pages and publish it in a hard-bound edition for $3.50 eight years later. It would have made an interesting and less expensive pamphlet about six years ago.

The first half of the book details the history in the Western and Christian traditions of the use of the term "brother" for other than one's male siblings. Ratzinger makes much of the Israelite consciousness of the Fatherhood of Yahweh for the sons of Israel. This, Ratzinger maintains, differs from the brotherhood of any other ethnic or religious group. The Enlightenment idea of brotherhood provides the author with a favorite whipping boy. It was not an advance, he claims, in the way it saw all men as brothers in the human race, but rather a degeneration into romanticism. Ratzinger goes on to make some interesting remarks about the relationship of Jesus and the Twelve which positively illumine the meaning of brotherhood in a Christian context. The gospel of Matthew records the saying of Jesus "You are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all brethren" (Mt 22:8). Christianity was (or was supposed to be) an end to rabbinism, an end to worldly master-disciple, ruler-ruled distinctions. Jesus does not call the Twelve "beloved sons" in the curial style that has won out in His Church, but rather instructs Mary Magdalen to announce His resurrection to "my brethren" (Mt 28:10).

The gospels preserve another notion of brotherhood in a wider sense than the brotherhood of the disciples. The great judgment parable of

Mt 25:31-46 equates "the least" of men with the brothers of Christ. Service done to these brothers is service done to Christ; here "brother" is the equivalent of "neighbor" in the Lucan parable of the Good Samaritan. Fr. Ratzinger notices here the similarity between the synoptic viewpoint and the Enlightenment ideal. "It is true that there is here an ultimate removal of barriers which one finds in so complete a form only in Stoicism and the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, there is in the gospel a Christological element in the idea of brotherhood which creates a quite different spiritual atmosphere from the Enlightenment ideology." True enough, but surely we must be reluctant to label the Enlightenment ideology as "empty romanticism" because it reaches a Christian ideal without Christ. The experience of Christians working with non-Christians for humanitarian aims must also be taken into account when evaluating "the Christian meaning of brotherhood." In the tiny, persecuted community which was the primitive Church we cannot expect to find all the elements of Christian meaning.

Five Christian attitudes

The second section of the book, "An Attempt at Synthesis," tries to deduce from the scriptural and dogmatic sources of the Christian tradition five Christian attitudes suited for the construction of an ethos of true brotherhood.

1) The Christian's sense of his brotherhood with all men is rooted in his sharing the human nature of Christ. Following Meister Eckhart's curious ethical reinterpretation of the hypostatic union, Ratzinger describes the Christian ethic as basically one of selflessness like that of the human nature of Christ. This does not seem to add much to our theological understanding except a rather colorless Christology.

2) The exclusivism and hierarchism that characterized the synagogue were abolished by Christ, or at least were intended to be; the primitive Christian community was marked for its "undifferentiated brotherliness" (surely an unfortunate phrase). Only God was to addressed as Father, according to Christ's command (Mt 23:8-11). Priesthood and officialdom were to be swept away in the new covenant and replaced by *diakonia*, the service of the brethren. Human nature being what it is, this note of evangelical Christianity was soon obscured, leaving us with the quaint Byzantine-Baroque establishment of modern times.

3) Brotherly community is limited, according to Ratzinger, and here he posits the main difference between certain strains of Protestant ecclesiology and its Catholic counterpart (in 1958). Whereas many Protestants take an "'eschatological', anti-institutional view of the Church," Catholics are committed to the concept of a closed brotherly

community. "Only this limited application of the idea of brotherhood is Christian; removal of this barrier was an essentially unrealizable ideal of the Enlightenment." Perhaps the Second Vatican Council's image of the People of God allows for a more open and fluid concept of the Church than Ratzinger's brotherly community. Lines of demarcation are not denied; they are simply not highlighted so sharply. Ratzinger's brotherly community is defined by a common Eucharist; *Lumen Gentium* stresses many sources linkage to the People of God.

4) While his treatment of the limits of brotherly community has become dated, Ratzinger's synthetic chapter on true universalism opens up new horizons. Much of this treatment is derived from Karl Barth's doctrine of election as interpreted by Hans Urs von Balthasar. Calvin's *praedestinatio gemina* is seen applied to Christ in a new sense: damnation and salvation, rejection and election are taken on by the incarnate Lord on behalf of man. Christ, the only just man, by taking on man's rejection, redeems man who is his brother in human nature. The antithetical pairs of brothers in the Old Testament and the brothers in the parable of the Prodigal Son all illustrate for Barth a great paradox. Rejection leads ultimately to election: the rejected man is chosen *in* his very rejection. This for Ratzinger gives a rationale to the Church's closed and yet open nature as a brotherly community. The Church is one brother seeking to serve, love and suffer for the other brother—in short, to redeem the other brother in the image of Christ.

5) In a rather weak postscript on the concept of "separated brethren," Ratzinger finds difficulty with the idea of more than one valid ecclesial sign of the saving mystery of Christ. He suggests, almost archly, that Protestant communities may be considered "sisters" of the Catholic Church. It is difficult to see what contribution Ratzinger is making by this preconciliar afterthought. Robert McAfee Brown, in his introduction to this volume, notes very charitably that it is at this point that "Fr. Ratzinger's suggestions can be supplemented by the actions of the Second Vatican Council." Brown then goes on to do just that in summary fashion—all of which raises the question as to *why* this book was published without considerable revision at this late date. One wonders if this is attributable to the same human instinct in publishing houses that divides up Rahner's substantial European volumes into fragmented booklets with different titles. Ratzinger's name, associated as it is with Rahner's in the authorship of *The Episcopate and the Primacy*, will surely sell this dated essay with its intriguing title. But let the buyer beware.

PATRICK J. RYAN, S.J.

Marriage, Human Reality and Saving Mystery, 2 volumes. *By E. Schillebeeckx, O.P.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965. Pp. xxxii + 416. $7.50.

Ten years ago at a meeting of moralists Fr. Gerald Kelly characterized our traditional moral treatise on chastity as lacking consistency. He felt that it did not hang together, that it was a patchwork. The whole subject of chastity in marriage and outside of it needed reworking, he concluded.

The present impasse regarding contraception has made us all aware that something is indeed missing in our doctrine of marriage. The Holy Father, after two and a half years of reflection, aided by fifty of the best theological, medical, and demographic minds in the Church—who themselves could not reach a consensus—has been unable to speak out definitively on the subject.

The recent Council has reoriented our thinking in terms of responsible parenthood, the importance of conjugal love and of greater freedom for responsible decision by parents. The doctrinal problem of contraception is capable of solution. But the pastoral and more perilous question of the faith of the faithful will be with us for some time. How to help them see and accept a doctrinal development, not to mention change—but then development by definition involves change—without their loyalty to the magistery being shaken, here is the rub. For that matter the priest himself is no stranger to this crisis of conscience. Little wonder, when his seminary course was deficient in the epistemology of moral (would that we had remembered St. Thomas' judgment on the limitation of the secondary principles of natural law!) and his schooling preceded the appearance of current biblical theology on marriage.

The much larger picture

Accepting development and change in the Church's growing consciousness of moral truth requires an historical background from which development can be seen to emerge. Until recently the history of moral thought was not at hand for the theologian to reflect upon.

The problem of contraception, however, does not stand by itself. It is a detail of the much larger picture of marriage, the family, conjugal love, sexuality and the Christian vocation to image Christ's love for his Church. In the traditional moral presentation, the camera lingered too long and in close-up on contraception. As a result, the popular conception of chastity among Catholics according to sociologists has been: "Nothing before marriage; after marriage anything goes except contraception!"

Seen in its broader perspective the problem of marriage today is a multiple one. It involves the question of mixed marriages and the ex-

tent to which the Church can modify its legislation with a view to ecumenical rapprochement with Protestant Christians. Bishop Zogby's query at the Council needs to be answered. He asked whether the Church does not possess further powers to dissolve valid marriage for the relief of the innocent spouse abandoned with children by a wife or husband. No adequate study of marriage can dispense with celibacy, its counterpart. For marriage cannot be adequately defined without reference to eschatological sexual abstinence. Mountains of psychological data are at hand for the theologian with respect to difficulties experienced in marriage. The sociologist has much to say about the cultural forces tearing at the fabric of the family today but at the same time pointing to a deeper family unity than ever before realized in the history of man.

It is with this breadth of scope that Fr. Schillebeeckx, the renowned Dutch theologian, addresses himself to the subject of marriage in the present work. These first two volumes of his projected series go to the sources of any theology of marriage: Holy Writ and history, with the related behavioral sciences. From these sources respectively marriage emerges as saving mystery and as human reality. Volume I treats of marriage in the Old and New Testaments; marriage in the history of the Church is the subject of Volume II. A subsequent volume will present the history of moral thought in the Church on sexuality, to be followed in due time by a synthesis, a systematic theology of marriage and sexuality.

Scholar that he is, Schillebeeckx eschews what sometimes passes for history today, a survey of the writings of theologians and canonists on Christian marriage. This is an integral part of any genuine historical study, but it says nothing of the social context in which and to which the theologians and canonists were speaking. It omits marriage as an anthropological reality among Greeks, Romans, and their neighbors, among Visigoths, Celts, and Teutons. Yet it was just this human reality that was raised by Christ into the order of salvation. It was the secular rituals of marriage among these peoples that the Church eventually incorporated into her own liturgy.

What emerges from all this is a different reality than our present concept of it. During the first ten centuries after Christ the Church recognized that marriage came into being (and the sacrament was received) in the home with the exchange of bride and dowry. It was a secular reality. The Christian liturgy of marriage, which evolved only gradually, was not obligatory for Christians until the eleventh century and even then was not required for validity. The laws of the realm were the protection of marriage. The Church herself was not concerned with

marriage legislation, though churchmen composed lengthy pastoral treatises. Compare this state of affairs with the complex law of marriage in the Code of Canon Law!

The essence of marriage depended solely on the mutual consent of bride and groom. It was therefore independent of the authority of state and Church. Moreover, when the Church subsequently assumed complete jurisdiction over matrimony, her claim was not made *de jure*, in principle, but simply resulted from historical factors. This opens up possibilities for ecumenical agreement with Protestants regarding mixed marriages and the possibility of harmony with government in the touchy matter of the required civil ceremony in some countries. Can it be that both state and Church infringed upon the basic human right to marry, Schillebeeckx asks. May they intervene to render null and void the personal consent of the spouses on the basis of nonfulfillment of purely positive law stipulations as to the form in which marriage is to be contracted? The medieval view, conflicting with our own post-Tridentine one, held the consent as inviolable by state or Church.

It is a source of hope for the Jesuit in the pastoral ministry to speculate on the implications of this data for his work. What does it mean in terms of returning to the Christian community those who are married without benefit of the prescribed Tridentine form of marriage? Schillebeeckx does not answer such questions in the present volumes. They simply arise from the sources he here reviews. More ground remains to be surveyed in his series before he can synthesize conclusions reached in the various stages of his research.

Nor has he marshalled all the historical data. His method is selective both as to the authors studied and the themes developed. To have done otherwise would have been prohibitive in terms of time and space. He has not, however, sacrificed accuracy or distorted history in so proceeding.

Sacred and secular

Turning to the scriptural data, here too marriage emerges from the pages of Old and New Testaments as a much more secular reality than post-Tridentine theology has given us to believe. Our thinking about marriage is largely in terms of its sacramentality. It is heavily theological, in the older sense of the term. Actually the more existential kind of theology Schillebeeckx gives us, a synthesis of the historical, anthropological, and sociological with the biblical data and the speculations of earlier theologians, is more properly theological than what formerly went by the name.

From the first pages of Genesis we find the definitive break with the sacral image of marriage characteristic of non-Judaic cultures. The model

of marriage is not Zeus and Athena, or their counterparts in other mythologies, consorting in their bridal bed on Olympus. The model of Old Testament marriage is situated squarely on earth, in Adam and Eve, later in the marriage of Hosea with Gomer, a religious prostitute in the fertility rites of Baal.

Schillebeeckx does not deny that this very human institution was also sacred. For the Israelite marriage was blessed by God. It was his creation, as was everything human. The emphasis, however, in this secular-sacral polarity was far more on the secular than in our own thinking. The author suggests that our evaluation be brought into line with divine revelation.

So much for the Old Testament. But does not Paul go far beyond Genesis? Does not the emphasis swing back to the sacred with his teaching that marriage for Christians is marriage "in the Lord" (1 Cor. 7:39)? Is not this the biblical basis for the sacramentality of marriage? If this line of reasoning is followed, Schillebeeckx says, we would have to regard slavery as a sacrament. For slaves too were exhorted to serve their masters "in the Lord." The meaning of the expression with regard to marriage is rather that this ordinary human phenomenon of two people sharing their lives was taken up into the sphere of salvation. They should conduct themselves in marriage as Christians.

Ephesians 5, however, does express a reality of marriage that far transcends a community of life by two persons. It establishes an essential connection of Christian marriage with the covenant relationship of Christ and the Church. This covenant is a marriage relationship. And husband and wife are called to this kind of redemptive love relationship which Christ has with his Body, the Church.

Here we have a fact about marriage which we have never really taught our people. What should be a potent dynamism permeating their thinking and feeling, guiding their decisions, is missing from their lives. Contrast the value of this Pauline teaching with the current preoccupation of Catholics with contraception. Yet, "The problem of not wanting children is not discussed at all in the New Testament." The problem may well not have existed in the apostolic age. Still the conclusion is inescapable, we have distorted the hierarchy of values in marriage as found in revelation.

Far more discoveries than the above are to be found in the present volumes. No Jesuit can afford to ignore them or the companion volume(s) to follow. Volumes I and II, by the way, are obtainable also in paperback, appearing as Sheed and Ward "Stagbooks" publications.

ROBERT H. SPRINGER, S.J.

JESUITS AND NORTHWEST HISTORY

The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest. *By Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966. Yale Western Americana Series, 11. Pp. xv & 512. $10.00.

Father Burns has given us a detailed study which is at the same time fascinating reading. He begins with a brief survey of the area involved—the Pacific Northwest, which included parts or all of the present day states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana—in all, over a quarter of a million square miles. These are just the names; the reality was a vast unmapped and virtually unknown wilderness. The main features of the area were the Rockies and other lesser mountain ranges, and two main rivers, the Columbia and the Snake. The area was chiefly known, but somewhat inaccurately, as The Oregon Territory.

Fr. Burns then tells the role this area played in American history prior to the two decades which are his chief concern (1850-60; 1870-80). Many major figures, events and controversies flit briefly across the stage or pause to add a more important contribution: Presidents Monroe and Jackson, and also Jefferson who sent Lewis and Clark to explore the territory, John C. Calhoun, Marcus Whitman, the Hudson Bay Company, the 54°40′ slogan which almost led to war with England. Although few white men had penetrated the area prior to 1840, the white man's influence had been felt in terrible fashion as his diseases ravaged the Indian tribes, "taking a toll more terrible than any Black Death known to Europe's history. Over two-thirds of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest simply disappeared."

The picture is a depressing one. Behind and after the diseases came disintegration of the morals and customs of the Indians as the slow trickle of settlers became a steady stream, and soon a flood. It was into this world where a whole society, an entire race of men, were (to use a current phrase) "being phased out of existence" that the Jesuit missionaries came to live among these Indians, to live for them, to suffer for and with them, and do all they could to help them.

For most of these Jesuits it was a completely new and disconcerting experience, a different world, a life of obscurity and of work that was often misunderstood and at times openly opposed by the white world they represented. They came from Europe and were truly an international mission: Italian, French, Irish, German, Belgian, Dutch, Swiss and Maltese. They came from many different European schools and some would return to educational work in other parts of the United States. One of them became famous and walked with the highest figures

in American History, Father Peter DeSmet. He dealt with men such as Generals Sherman and Rosecrans, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Thurlow Weed, Kit Carson and President Lincoln. But DeSmet was the exception. For the rest—Fathers Joset, Giorda, Cataldo, Hoecken, Gazzoli, Ravalli, Menetrey and the many others—it was a life of hidden work.

The author studies in detail two eras and the Jesuit involvement in both. The first is the late 1850's and the Jesuits' work to prevent a widespread uprising and wholesale massacre of the still limited number of settlers in the area. The second is the final desperate revolt of the Nez Percés led by their gallant chief Joseph in 1877. The author tells how at a time when the odds and whole tide of history had turned against the Indians, the Jesuits again labored to minimize the death and destruction to both sides. In each of these studies Father Burns creates fascinating narratives which can only be appreciated by reading them.

Equally important as the recounting of a story that deserves and needs to be told, are a number of questions and observations which arises from this recounting. These latter focus on the meaning of certain themes in American History and their significance in the past and today; they are imbedded or implicit in the account given by Father Burns and help bring out the lasting significance of his labors.

The first of these is the terrible dilemma faced by the Jesuits. Quite often in their work they were suspected, opposed and interfered with by many different members of the white society and civilization from which they came. This was an age in America of strong xenophobia and anti-Catholicism, and the Jesuits would be especially suspect. They had come from one civilization and were attempting to work among a people whose whole society was being eroded or violently torn apart by the white man. The Jesuits saw what was happening and realized what this meant; the Indian and his way of life were doomed and there was nothing the Jesuits could do to stop this. The destruction was bound to be cruel and painful unless the men who were to make the decisions concerning the fate of the Indians were men of great hearts and great tact. But this was impossible since the problem was continually caught up in the rough and tumble of the politics of those decades. There could be brief delays to smooth the transition for the Indians, but these were rare. The voting populace of settlers was ruthless in its opposition and insatiable in its demands.

More than one Indian saw the result of this waiting and negotiating. They felt that one massive uprising might ward off the disaster and make their lands less attractive to the would be settlers. The cost would be a massacre of hundreds of white settlers, some innocent and some not so innocent, as well as many Indian lives. In all probability, the

result would have been the same no matter what the Indians did. But it was the unfortunate task of the Jesuit missionaries to try to prevent any such uprising, to try to quell and restrict any outbreak that did occur. For the Indians the choice was always death, slowly by disintegration or quickly in what to them would be a great and glorious cause. The Jesuits as pacifiers prevented this latter, and so their role became that of preparing an entire society and people for a death that would work its way over a period of decades.

It also becomes clear in this study that the white society which was supposedly bringing order and civilization to these primitives had some very strange codes of behavior. Treaties made with the Indians were things to be broken, and a solemn promise was a joke. Time and time again the Indians were promised that certain territory would be theirs forever—which meant only until some white settlers found something in the land that they wanted. Interestingly, Fr. Burns notes several times the sympathy that some of the military felt for the Indians and their cause. Not a few realized what was being taken from the Indian and what he was being left with, and simply remarked that if he were an Indian he would fight too.

Unfortunately most of the military shared the same prejudices and desires as the settlers. They certainly applied the same double standard; if a white man killed an Indian, that was one thing, but if an Indian killed a white man, that was a hanging offense. Again and again when some group of Indians was finally driven to rebel, the terms of peace would inevitably mean death for the Indians who had killed. It is to the Jesuits' credit that at times they were able to save some of the Indians from this fate by arranging for peace on more humane terms.

The story told by Fr. Burns begins with the era of expansion, the age of Manifest Destiny, and ends with the suppression of the revolt led by Chief Joseph who had endured much in his loyalty to the white man. The period covered has great significance since it centers around the Civil War which itself was fought, at least in part, because of the inhuman condition of one minority group in America. It is perhaps symbolic that as our story ends in 1877, so too this period is marked with the abandonment of the Negro people to a segregated life, with the rise of blatant and vociferous anti-oriental movements, and the large scale development of reservations for the Indians, or as they have been better called, "human zoos."

In summary this book depicts a side of American history that is too little known or taught among the American people. It is a part of our tragic inheritance, and we should be aware of it in our dealings today with the various groups we meet. It was America's claim that she was

bringing civilization and order and human values to a group of savages. Two quotations from Fr. Burns' book serve as an apt comment on this tendency towards self-righteousness.

In the 1880's the city of Spokane issued a promotional pamphlet which answered various rhetorical questions on the value of settling there. One such question was: "Have you any Indians and are they troublesome? It returns the reassuring answer: Only a few and they are not troublesome; all of them will soon be removed to reservations remote from us."

In contrast with this a Kettle Indian chief, Michael, wrote a letter after the mission among his people had been closed. The letter, addressed to the "Blackrobe head chief," apologized for the poor showing the Kettles had made as Christians and appeals for more priests with the simple words; "Our souls are as precious as those of the whites; Jesus Christ died for us as well." It is to the great credit of the Jesuits and other missionaries in the story that they answered this appeal with all that they had and were at a time when few were willing to admit the very basis of the appeal. It is their story that Father Burns has ably told.

THOMAS E. MORRISSEY, S.J.

SELECTED READINGS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

(Listing prepared and commented upon by Michael P. Sheridan, S.J., who has a Ph.D. in higher education from the University of Chicago.)

The Catholic college

Church-Sponsored Higher Education. *By Manning M. Patillo, Jr. and Donald M. Mackenzie.* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1966. Pp. xix + 309. $6.00.

This is the final and greatly expanded version of the report of the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities. The report is a thorough one, covering in detail those aspects of church-related institutions of higher education which differentiate them from others, as well as some topics equally applicable to all colleges and universities. Since the Danforth Commission was composed mainly of educators committed to church-related higher education, one might have expected something of a eulogy; but the Commission did no such thing. Problems are cited accurately and weaknesses are pointed out, just as significant progressive moves are singled out for commendation. Catholic institutions are cited for their peculiar problems, notably the proliferation of small women's

colleges and the poor financial support given them by the Church itself. The lack of innovative thinking regarding campus liturgical life is likewise brought forth as a problem area. If the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission are taken to heart, church-related higher education stands a chance of enjoying a more prosperous future than is usually predicted.

The Education of Catholic Americans. *By Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi.* Chicago: Aldine, 1966. Pp. xxii + 328. $8.95.

The highly-publicized "Greeley-Rossi Report" has been used by both sides of the dispute on the value of Catholic education, since its comprehensive nature allows one to extract data and conclusions either in favor of or hostile to the notion of Catholic education. And yet surprisingly few educators have taken the time to go through the entire work, relying instead on some painfully inaccurate press reports. Since the work is above all a scientific study of the effects of Catholic education insofar as they are measurable, it is not (nor was it intended to be) an apology for either position in the great dispute. Much of the data indicates strong points in Catholic education; much of it puts the weaknesses into painfully obvious perspective. In a final chapter, the authors do offer some interpretation of their data which is open to dispute; but it is essential to be familiar with the precise nature of the data cited. It is all in the book, and should be read *in toto* by any educator sincerely interested in his work.

Student personnel

The College and the Student. *Edited by Lawrence E. Dennis and Joseph F. Kauffman.* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1966. Pp. xv + 390. $6.00.

This collection of papers from the 1965 national meeting of the American Council on Education deals with the topic of the contemporary college student. In very recent years, the student and his environment have become the focus of attention not only for the general public, but also for social scientists. In the volume, some of the important names within this genus of sociological study are represented, especially C. Robert Pace and Theodore M. Newcomb. Historian Frederick Rudolph has contributed a singularly valuable paper tracing the historical development of the universities' concern—or lack of it—for the student. Other papers deal with academic freedom and the student; the presentation of E. G. Williamson and John L. Cowan is noteworthy. All in all some forty-six papers are collected, and almost every one deserves serious reading and consideration.

College Peer Groups. *Edited by Theodore M. Newcomb and Everett K. Wilson.* Chicago: Aldine, 1966. Pp. x + 303. $7.95.

This book may well be the most important contribution to the literature on the college student since the publication of *The American College* in 1962. Newcomb himself is one of the pioneers in this increasingly important field of study, and his essay, "The General Nature of Peer Group Influence," is another important article for anyone familiar with these matters. The essay of Burton Clark and Martin Trow, "The Organizational Context," will be illuminating even to those who have not had the opportunity to read extensively in this literature. Prospective readers should be warned that some of the essays are extremely technical, dealing with research methodology. But even when these chapters are left alone, the lay reader will gain much by a careful reading of the rest of the book. The relevance of such studies is of obvious import for Catholic higher education, since Catholic colleges are much concerned with the student's personal espousal of a value system. And since the facts show that the student environment has a great deal to do with the formation of a personal value system, Catholic colleges will have to begin giving much more serious consideration to the campus environment. Thus, books such as this will become increasingly important for Catholic educators.

Proceedings of the JEA Workshop on Jesuit Student Personnel Programs and Services. *Edited by G. Gordon Henderson, S.J.* New York: Jesuit Educational Association, 1965. Pp. xii + 588. $4.00.

It could well be that this set of proceedings will suffer the fate of many others, namely, resting undisturbed in the office of some Jesuit administrator. Or the title may lead some Jesuits to believe that it is material for those working in student personnel work only. Either eventuality would be tragic, for there is a great deal in the volume by specialists (both Jesuit and non-Jesuit) of interest to all educators. In particular, the papers by Dana Farnsworth, Andrew Greeley, Patrick H. Ratterman, S.J., and Robert J. McNamara, S.J. deserve reading. Here too the emphasis is on the problems of the student, with special attention given to the problems of the Catholic college student and even the Jesuit college student.

Student Culture. *By Walter L. Wallace.* Chicago: Aldine, 1966. Pp. xxi + 236. $6.95.

This book is also concerned with the question of the student and his environment. It may be too technical for the reader without any background in the empirical social sciences, but it is significant enough to warrant an attempt. Such problems as grades-orientation, socialization

and fraternities, and aspiration to graduate studies are examined. In general, conclusions are not startling, nor are they always expressed in language sufficiently non-technical for the layman to grasp. But this should not vitiate the worth of the book.

Curriculum and faculty

The Contemporary University: U. S. A. *Edited by Robert S. Morison.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966. Pp. xvi + 364. $6.50.

This book originally appeared as the Fall, 1964, number of *Daedulus,* and as such it was noted in a bibliography published in WOODSTOCK LETTERS in Fall of 1965. However, with its publication in book form, four new essays have been incorporated, all of them good but two worthy of special note. "On Judging Faculty" by Stephen Orgel and Alex Zwerdling is an excellent study of the always difficult problem of assessing the worth of a faculty, and "The Faces in the Lecture Room" by Kenneth Keniston is a good analysis of the types of students found in the contemporary university. Keniston's essay received a good bit of attention in the popular press; it is open to argument as any typology usually is but is nevertheless incisive. The four new entries justify acquisition of the book, even if a copy of *Daedulus* is already on hand.

An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education. *By Allan M. Cartter.* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1966. Pp. xvi + 131. $3.00.

When the Cartter Study appeared during 1966, it very quickly made national news. And justifiably so, since it is the first attempt at a comparative evaluation of departments of instruction among American universities. In twenty-nine different academic disciplines, the departments of American universities are rated according to the quality of the graduate faculty and according to the effectiveness of the graduate program. There are many inherent dangers in an approach like Cartter's, and he is quick to acknowledge them. In fact, it is most important to insist upon a reading of his introduction before going into the body of the work so that sufficient perspective is gained. The showing of Catholic higher education in this study is interesting. Only a very few departments from Catholic institutions make any of the lists; this has already been interpreted in completely different ways. It may well be that fifteen years ago no Catholic school would have made it, and in that case some significant progress has taken place. Or it may be that the poor showing of Catholic higher education is cause for some serious thought.

The Reforming of General Education. *By Daniel Bell.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1966. Pp. xvi + 320. $6.95.

Good books on the subject of the college curriculum are rare; since Freeman Butts published his book *The College Charts its Course* in the 1930's (the book is now out of print) there have been very few good studies. Bell's book, which won the American Council on Education award this year for the most important book in the field of higher education, is concerned primarily with the curriculum reform at Columbia University. But his actual perspective is far broader, and the result is a book which is both interesting and instructive. The problems which faced Columbia have a certain universal aspect, and any university concerned with curriculum renewal will face variations of Columbia's difficulties.

The Emergence of the American University. *By Laurence R. Veysey.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. Pp. xiv + 505. $10.00.

There are only a few scholarly histories of American higher education available today; Veysey's is the most recent and probably the most scholarly. Little more need be said about it, except that scant attention is given to the development of Catholic higher education. This flaw is not, however, serious enough to discredit the entire work.

Two new periodicals have appeared on the market this year, both of them using newspaper formats. The first, *The Collegiate Compendium*, appears weekly during the school year and features articles reprinted from college student papers all over the country. While the layout and typography are poor, the paper gives the reader a good chance to find out what subjects are currently under discussion on the nation's campuses and to ascertain what the mood of college students is on these issues. ($5.00 per year introductory; $7.50 per year regular. P.O. Box 152, Darby, Pennsylvania 19023). Aided by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, Editorial Projects for Education has begun to publish *The Chronicle of Higher Education* biweekly from September through May and monthly during the summer. The paper is well put together, and offers straight reporting on the developments within higher education as well as on other matters having any import on higher education. *The Chronicle* appears to offer the best means of keeping up with pertinent news in the field. (The address: 3301 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. $10.00 per year.)

FERDINAND C. WHEELER, S.J. (1885–1965)

Saturday, September 18, 1965, was the kind of autumn day alumni promotion offices dream about for their homecoming weekends. At Woodstock in the late morning hours of that day, a crowd of several hundred persons gathered around a freshly dug grave in the college cemetery. It was a typical Jesuit funeral. The surpliced group was almost universally stoic, the choir sang the Benedictus, and in a few minutes the brief, subdued rites had been completed. But to at least one observer among the mourners, it was not just a typical funeral; it was closer to say that it was the end of such funerals.

There are no calendar days in history when one age neatly ends and another begins, but if there were, this mild Saturday would have been one of them. For in burying Ferdinand Wheeler, we had buried the outstanding figure of an earlier Society—a pre-Conciliar, pre-Congregational Society that in a real sense stretched its roots back to the colonial days at St. Inigoes and Port Tobacco.

Beginnings

His family was among the oldest in Maryland, tracing almost as far back as the Society's origin on the Atlantic seaboard. In 1720 Benjamin Wheeler had already established himself sufficiently as one of the landed gentry in Prince George's County to have 2514 acres of land deeded to him in the then Baltimore County, nine years later to be incorporated as Baltimore City.[1] A century later, Leonard Wheeler, the great-great-grandfather of Fr. Wheeler, helped finance the Basilica of the Assumption for Archbishop John Carroll, an intimate friend who frequently visited the Wheelers. Leonard enrolled his son in the first class at the newly opened St. Mary's College on Paca Street. While there the second Leonard Wheeler became a very close friend of Fr. John David, a Jesuit professor at the College (actually a high school),

[1] Woodstock Archives, IIF 36 (382).

who later was named Coadjutor Bishop under Bishop Flaget at Bardstown, Kentucky. The two kept up their college friendship over the years, and Leonard Wheeler named a son after the Jesuit. This began a succession of John David Wheelers, including the son of the first-named who started work as a cashier at the Mechanic's Bank at Fayette and Eutaw in Baltimore. John David Wheeler was a persistent worker who set rigid standards for himself while not expecting the same of others. Once he spent three years in his off-time to find three cents that would not balance out on the books. He found it. Such determination carried him to better positions in the banking community. He became a general roving official for the First National of Baltimore, specializing in trouble-shooting situations. His biggest accomplishment was the fiscal rescue of the First National at Leonardtown in southern Maryland when that bank was on the brink of bankruptcy.

John Wheeler and his wife were then living on the western edge of the city in St. Martin's parish, a few blocks from where H. L. Mencken would later cavil as the Sage of Baltimore. There on October 12, 1885, a third son was born to them, the fifth of seven children. They named the boy Ferdinand Chatard, after his maternal grandfather, a well-known physician throughout Baltimore.

The next thirteen years happily passed for the Wheeler family of West End. Ferdinand attended St. Martin's school on Fulton Avenue, as his older brothers had before him. When he graduated from St. Martin's it was only natural to follow his brothers downtown to Loyola High School on Calvert Street. In September 1898, when the country was still jubilant about the outcome of the Spanish-American War, young Ferdinand settled into a first year desk at Loyola. He was growing rapidly. A picture survives from his sophomore year, showing him as a tall, lanky warrior in the school production of *Sebastian*. By his senior year he had decided to become a Jesuit. His older brother Dave had already entered the Order four years before. Early on the morning of August 14, 1902, Ferdinand boarded the train for the Jesuit novitiate at Frederick, Maryland.

Novitiate days

The novitiate had been at the western Maryland town since 1834, and his was the last group to enter there. Already ground had been purchased outside Poughkeepsie, New York, and the Frederick property had been sold for $30,000.[2] By early January full-scale packing was the order of the day as the novices and juniors loaded railroad boxcars with

[2] The information about the move to Poughkeepsie comes mainly from the diary of John David Wheeler, S.J.

all the belongings and furnishings they intended to ship north. One of the boxcars was labeled "Explosives, Handle Carefully"!

The last night at Frederick, January 14, David Wheeler noted in his diary that the final reading at table had been from Fr. Rodriquez's treatise on *Modesty and Silence*: "If Julian the apostate had not been born the world would not have become so desolate." The next morning at 4:30 they were up to meet the train at Second Street. At Philadelphia, a broken axle was fortunately discovered by accident, and they made the rest of the trip without incident. As evening came on, they sang hymns in the juniors' cars while they approached the long bridge at Poughkeepsie. With snow on the ground and the temperature below freezing, the scholastics disembarked from the train and walked almost three miles up the pike to their new home. Some of the faculty rode on sleighs.

They found an unfinished St. Andrew's awaiting them. Dave noted nonetheless that "The house is wonderful and surpasses our expectations." A few days later Ferdinand's enthusiasm might have been somewhat checked after he received the first *culpa* in the infant history of the house. The circumstances are not recorded.

But these were happy days in general for Bro. Wheeler. His master of Novices was now Fr. George Pettit, who had been converted by his landlady in Brooklyn. Bro. Wheeler was obviously deeply influenced by the men who were his first spiritual directors. Sixty years later he would still quote his novice masters, particularly Fr. O'Rourke, whom he had had at Frederick, on their ideas concerning the Society and the spiritual life. Even this early he reflected his father's intense capacity for work and his inner toughness against the grinding obstacles of daily living. In a sermon he gave on Ignatius at the end of his first year in the Society he predicated of Ignatius what he certainly desired for himself: "Not a life of sluggish inactivity, nor the neglect . . . of human faculties, but a life whose only aim was God—where no thought of self-interest, self-seeking or personal advantage ever marred the holocaust he had made of it, a life the current of whose activities was always in one direction—the spread of God's kingdom."

Yet even in the novitiate the Wheeler stroke of humor and feel for the human situation were already there—or perhaps better, were still there despite the hothouse existence. In one of his first retreats he noted about his high resolves: "All this sounds easy in retreat—how hard in practice! Do your best—it will be bad enough."

The Society is everything

But if Fr. Wheeler set high ideals for himself it all centered around his basic love for the Society. On a personal note, I remember distinctly

a day of recollection he gave to us at Blakefield in his next-to-last year. At a time when the province was becoming acutely aware of a vocational crisis in declining applicants and departing scholastics, he found it very difficult to conceive of reasons why a person should want to leave, not because he didn't see the bald spots on the structure, but because his love and commitment to the Society was so fundamental and consuming. He spoke as earnestly as I ever heard him, urging us to "burn the bridges behind us," and give ourselves completely to what we had been called to.

He was one of those rare people who apparently never did look back. In none of his writings is there any indication that he ever had serious doubts. He had made his decision and now he fully intended to live it. For the rest of his life, he could sympathize with those who had such problems, could be greatly concerned about them, but whenever someone left, one suspects he believed it a disaster, sometimes fathomable, more often not. A year before his death he wrote: "Personally in my seventeen years with Ours in the training period I suffered many shocks—or disappointments. Many whom I approved, whom I looked on as solid and sure of their calling, quit, withdrew. . . . Why? I have never learned, never been able to pinpoint the hidden fault."[3] To him a vocation was forever. In that same letter he advised that he would reject everyone who did not have a deep certainty of his calling, "almost as if born to it." His own experience was apparently so convincing that he could set down so high a criterion.

Along with this overriding conviction went a total loyalty to the Society. In trying to describe what constituted the effective, above-average Jesuits he had seen, he also wrote in 1964: "To him the Society is everything, only two things have any value in his estimation: the Church and the Society as the Servant of the Church. Therefore he has great love and affection for the Society—all of Ours—anywhere. He lives, breathes, works for the Society in any capacity and with all his talents—no reservations."[4]

Belgium and social change

He spent three years at St. Andrew's, making his first vows on August 15, 1904. In 1907 he was sent to the College of St. John Berchmans in Louvain to study philosophy. What could have been three isolated and trying years in an alien community far from the customs of St. Andrew's and even farther from the milieu of Baltimore, turned out to be three

[3] Rough draft of a letter sent in February 1964 to a Jesuit doing research on the psychological testing of candidates to the Society.

[4] *Ibid.*

productive ones which helped open his eyes to the wider dimensions of the world. He was fortunate in having a rector who was especially kind to Americans and in having Fr. Vermeersch as his spiritual director. He became involved in the social work which Jesuits were doing in Belgium; then as now Europe was generally ahead of this country in its social thinking and practices, both in ecclesiastical and government circles. It was perhaps his Belgium experience which first exposed him to the concept of social change and all it involved, a concept which would become more and more pressing as the century spurted on. In an article in the 1910 edition of Woodstock Letters, Mr. Wheeler described the various programs in operation, including forming unions of the industrial and agricultural populations, starting co-operative savings banks or dairies, insuring livestock, running evening schools for workers, opening libraries, etc., It was very much like the work that the mid-western Progressives were doing at this time in their non-political operations. But the whole effort in Catholic Belgium was to win back the workingman who, unlike the immigrant in America, had not stayed in the Church. He often visited the community social centers, either to give religious instructions, to lecture, or simply to be there.[5]

Back to America

Then it was back to America in 1910 to teach at Brooklyn Prep. After four years there, he moved north to Worcester as a classics instructor at Holy Cross. In June, 1915 he returned to Maryland to begin his theology at Woodstock, where he would spend eighteen years as a theologian and official. It was a place he grew to like very deeply. The war years were spent in making final preparations for the priesthood. About the only bit of his writing which remains from those years is a brief jotting he made one Christmas. "Our Lord," he thought, "should be a reality in our lives like [*sic*] Santa Claus was when we were children." There was always much of this simple childlike trust in Christ and acceptance of Him, even while having a very hard-nosed attitude about other realities in life.

Finally on May 18, 1918 he was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons at Woodstock. A year later the war was over and Fr. Wheeler was back on the Hudson for his tertianship at St. Andrew's. The following June he finished the course of training, something he always held in great respect. Seventeen years had passed since Ferdinand Wheeler had left Baltimore for Frederick.

Ferd was the third Wheeler to become a priest. Dave and Tom had

[5] "Social Work of Ours in Belgium," Woodstock Letters, 39 (1910), p. 365.

preceded him, the former as a Jesuit and the latter as a diocesan. Dave spent most of his post-ordination years at Holy Cross where he died in 1935; Tom went on to serve as Pastor at the Shrine of the Little Flower in Baltimore. A third brother, Louis, was also a Jesuit by this time and would become the fourth priest in the family in a few years. Frank, Ferd's closest brother in his St. Martin's days, had married and eventually moved west to Kansas City. The two girls, Rachel and Helen, also married. It was a fiercely independent but close-knit family. That they were all strongly different and that they were widely separated for most of their long lives only seemed to tighten the bonds.

The two worlds of Jamaica

Fr. Wheeler's first assignment took him far from Baltimore. He was to be Headmaster at St. George's College in Kingston, Jamaica. The College was really a high school-upper grammar school complex, since the curriculum was based on the Cambridge system. In place of the normal Greek courses of the period there was a heavy emphasis on mathematics with arthmetic and algebra being taught for five years and geometry for four years. In addition there were scripture courses.[6] This experience with a different and more advanced educational system likewise had long range broadening effects upon Fr. Wheeler's thinking.

In 1923, he volunteered for the difficult missions of Savannah-la-Mar. This covered an area of seven outposts, which were reached by horseback. It was a depressed area, according to any index. In that year the missionary wrote to his friends in the States:

> There is a cry of wailing going up to heaven from this mission—and it pierces the heart of God. It is the cry of hundreds of children baptized as Catholics in their poor little homes in the valleys and on the mountain side; but now they have no school in which their faith is taught, they have no church in which they may receive the sacraments. With long periods of drought, crops have failed, and in some parts of St. Elizabeth's poverty is appalling; the people have been kept alive by Government appropriations.[7]

From those Jamaica days, he kept one sermon delivered on New Year's Eve in 1922. Fittingly enough, its topic is suffering. He saw a great deal of it during those years, yet his message to his people could still be: "Trust God in season, out of season, trust God in good and ill, be grateful to Him for His care of us, rely on His goodness and God will never forsake you." Those words could not have come easily amid such circumstances as prevailed in pretourist Jamaica. But such words must

[6] David J. Moran, S.J., "St. George's College," Woodstock Letters, 55 (1926) 50–56.

[7] Woodstock Archives, IIF 36 (382).

have struck home because he was beloved by the natives. Bishop John McElenry, later asked him to return to help untangle a difficult situation among a group of native nuns. That the situation turned out favorably is evidence that he was deeply respected among the native Catholic population. It was also borne out by the number of native vocations that were attributed to his incentive. In fact, he was at one point under serious consideration as a possible bishop for the island.

The Blakefield years: Part I

After seven years in the Caribbean, he returned in August, 1927 to serve as minister at St. Ignatius' in New York and at Woodstock before being named rector at St. Ignatius' in Baltimore. Loyola High School was still part of the parish, but already plans were being considered for moving the school out of the downtown area. Loyola College had moved out to Evergreen a few years before. In fact, St. Ignatius' already possessed property in northern Baltimore, to be used for a future Loyola High. Nevertheless, Fr. Wheeler was at Calvert Street only a short time when he became convinced that the high school should move farther out than the acquired site. What he had in mind was a country-day school set-up with a large campus that would provide unexcelled facilities for students.

Over the protests of many influential voices in the province, he began searching for such a site. He finally came upon one slightly over a mile from Towson. He loved to tell the story years later of his first visit to what was then the Jackson estate. It was a raw, overcast day as he drove up to the former Governor's mansion. He was admitted to the drawing room where the Governor's widow heard out his possible interest in the property. The old lady was rather non-committal. She seemed somewhat amiss at the prospect of her estate becoming a Catholic school. But she consented to show him the property and as they walked through the rose gardens and looked south from the colonnaded porch over the rolling lawns along Joppa Road, the possibilities of the place began to materialize in his mind. This was just what Loyola High needed.

Convincing the powers of the province of the same need, however, was a further story. It seemed a terribly remote location. There was no public transportation within a mile of the place. It would cost a great deal of money simply for the grounds, not to mention the building. The prospect of raising money during a depression hardly seemed substantial. Why not be satisfied with the Homewood location that the province already owned?

If there was anything that Fr. Wheeler was, it was persistent. He kept to his insistence on the Jackson site. The George Blake and Thomas

O'Neill families came up with the benefactors to realize this plan. The Blake sisters financed the building the O'Neills purchased the land, and by 1934 the upper classes had moved out to Blakefield, the new name for the thirty-seven acre campus. Actually, Fr. Wheeler always thought that the grounds should have more appropriately been named for the O'Neills, even though he later became very close to the Blake sisters.

Whether the move to Towson was a sound one is still a debatable question. It is true that the high school drew students from a wider geographical distribution when it was downtown. It is probably also true that the location has given Loyola somewhat the reputation of a "rich boys' school." But it is fair to point out that moving schools from the downtown areas to the suburbs has become the general pattern in American private education and in this regard Fr. Wheeler was twenty years in front of the field. Secondly, there is no doubt that the Blakefield campus boasts one of the most attractive high school plants in the country, offering almost unlimited facilities. Today, in a more social-minded age, it is close to major expressways so that it is both accessible from all parts of the city and only minutes from social apostolates in the inner city. In general, it seems that his vision has proved true.

Minister at Woodstock

By 1936 Loyola was beginning its second building at Blakefield as Fr. Wheeler's term as Rector concluded. For the second time he was returning to Woodstock as Minister. He was obviously pleased to be back. Many of the scholastics who had been under him as Philosophers were now on the other side of the house as Theologians. To mark the occasion of his return, there were first class haustuses for both the Theologians and Philosophers, certainly a rare reason for a celebration in the annals of Woodstock.[8] In some ways he was most at home at Woodstock, perhaps because of its manorial set-up and patriarchal hierarchy. He liked nothing better than being a father to Ours. In a paternally governed Society he represented its finest conception of a superior. As one who lived under him commented at his death: "He seemed the embodiment of those young days at Woodstock."

He was honestly concerned about every man under him. At times it probably seemed he was too concerned. Every morning he was on the corridors, checking to see what was going on. He had an extraordinary memory. It was said that he knew where every piece of furniture in the house belonged and could immediately spot an article out of place. At night he always seemed to know what time every car came in and who was in it. One man who knew him well then has said: "He couldn't

[8] Minister's Diary, September 30, 1936; October 4, 1936.

bear not knowing what was going on, but he didn't do anything about it." He simply felt it his responsibility for the men under him to have his hand on every situation so that no one got hurt—either the individual or the community. Fr. Wheeler started out with the uncluttered conviction that each scholastic under him was a son to be worried about and cared for, to be corrected and encouraged as the situation demanded. He was paternal, but never high-handed. He would call down an individual, then go out of his way later to let him know that nothing remained on the boards. If he failed, it was a failure of excess.

No one was more a man for others than he was. If someone was hospitalized in Baltimore, he made the fifty mile round trip every day to see them. He was constantly worrying about how many were coming down with the flu or colds or whatever it might be. The pages of his diary tell of numerous incidents in which his concern for scholastics is apparent, whether it be health problems or family troubles or whatever. Every week he would delight in recording how many were out on picnics or walks. Whatever he did, whether it was blessing the swinging bridge which the scholastics built over the Patapsco or sitting by a theologian after an appendectomy or worrying in his diary over the mother of a philosopher who had disappeared during a flood or tracking down an illegal radio—to him it was all the same.

The great isolation

These were the days of the Great Isolation at Woodstock. Scholastics seldom got off the grounds except for trips to the doctor on Thursday. Nor did the world come to Woodstock. The Georgetown and Fordham Glee Clubs gave annual concerts at the College. There was an occasional movie. March 1, 1937 was long remembered as the day Hillaire Belloc came to Woodstock. The venerable English author lectured on "Catholicism and Civilization" for an hour, remarked that the view was the most breathtaking he had ever witnessed, then left for Washington shortly afterwards.[9] Seen against this monastic existence, Fr. Wheeler's fatherly bearing toward those under him was the natural part of a much larger pattern. What is more important is not that he assumed such a role, but that he lived it so well.

One of his yearly highlights at Woodstock was Christmas. Laurel Days were still in vogue and all the preparations for Christmas obviously gave him great satisfaction. In his last years at Blakefield he would find Christmas one of the loneliest days of the year. A younger man would have suggested that he visit some friends or relatives like everyone else, but to the Wheeler mind, this was not how Christmas in the

[9] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1937.

Society should be spent. To him the ideal Christmas was always the one shared by a large community. He was really very sentimental about it. His first Christmas back at Woodstock, he noted in the diary on January 2: "Saddest day of the year—the taking down of decorations—and rain, rain, rain."

The highpoint of his Woodstock year was always Ordinations. This he thought should be the time when the community should be at its altruistic best. Every year a massive cleaning operation began to get the old place into perfect shape for the sacred ceremonies. Task forces were minutely organized to scour the grounds, wash windows, set up temporary sleeping quarters, polish floors, wipe down corridor walls. It wasn't just a matter of making the house presentable for visitors. Every spot in and off cloister had to be inspection-ready. It was not a fetish for cleanliness, but rather a simple gesture to those being ordained. As he pointed out on one of his worksheets, "our tribute to the ordinandi consists in preparing the house for their ordination. In a few years others will be doing the same for those who follow." It hurt him whenever he found out that some people did not take part in the project.[10]

There were certain days which he especially connected with the Society. One of these was ordination. Another were jubilee celebrations. He wrote effusively about the Triple Jubilee celebration of Fr. John Brosnan in October, 1939, declaring that it was the "greatest show Woodstock ever had." That a man had served the Society for so long gave him great satisfaction.[11]

Despite the confining atmosphere of Woodstock, his vision never stopped at its gates. Alluding to the Spanish Civil War during a retreat in the late Thirties, he cautioned that "Many a . . . Christian has discovered in these tragic months the inestimable value of a religion which meant little to him when it cost little but which has meant everything in the days when it has demanded everything." In 1940, the scholastics registered for the draft. In November of that year, they were given permission to listen to the Roosevelt–Willkie election returns until 11:30 P.M. with an accompanying note from the Minister. "No victrola please. Just the returns, if any, on the radio. No singing. No piano." Then the typical Wheeler compensation after some negative remarks: "Light haustus at 9:30 P.M."[12]

On December 8 he tersely noted in the official diary: "Congress declared war on Japan at 1 p.m. [sic] today." The next day there were

[10] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1938.
[11] *Ibid.*, October 12, 1939.
[12] *Ibid.*, November 5, 1940.

many rumors afloat that enemy planes had been sighted in the area. The community listened to President Roosevelt's broadcast that evening.

The Scranton interim

On July 7, 1942 Fathers Wheeler and Coleman Nevils stood waiting for a taxi at the train station in a humid Scranton. They had come to administer the University with which the Society had just been entrusted by the Bishop. The school had long been a losing proposition and with the war on, the future looked even worse. They moved into the Scranton Estate, which was now merely a magnificent shell. Only a few items of furniture had been left behind by the city's leading family. Things in general were rather chaotic. The accelerated wartime session had already begun. Fr. Wheeler's first task as minister of the new community was to furnish and renovate the quarters. Many layers of peeling wallpaper had to be scraped off. Plastic utensils from a five and dime store were the only ones available. Somehow he managed to track down a refrigerator which had not been frozen by government regulations.[13]

A larger problem was the general condition of the University. There were too many scholarships being given out by a bankrupt school. Tuitions had a disturbing tendency to go unpaid. The college buildings were shabby or inadequate. Slowly an improvement program began, even though they never knew how many students they would have the next day nor where the next lumber was coming from for their building improvements. Two years later Fr. Wheeler wrote: "Just how we succeeded in getting materials and persuading officers to let us do it in this age of priorities will always be a wonder."[14] Needed repairs and additions were made and for the first time the University was operating at a favorable economic balance. What put the new administration across was its trust in the future of Scranton. "It acted like a tonic on the citizens," he wrote. "Business men not of our faith welcomed us gladly and enthusiastically and openly proclaimed that our coming to Scranton was the greatest thing that had happened in years for Scranton's good."[15] That the first Jesuits there could have given risen to such a conviction may well be greatly responsible for the University's current position as a major economic factor in the city.

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[13] Ferdinand C. Wheeler, S.J., "Scranton University: The Beginnings and First Year," Woodstock Letters, 73 (1944), p. 109.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Rector at Woodstock

Once the community was established at Scranton, Fr. Wheeler moved downstate the following year to become rector at Wernersville. Then in 1945 on the feast of the North American Martyrs he was read in as the sixteenth rector of Woodstock. With the war having ended a month before, the whole community celebrated his installation at a special dinner. The Woodstock orchestra serenaded with a program including "It's a Grand Old Flag," "Boogie-Woogie Concerto," and "Could It Be You?"[16]

Little had changed at Woodstock in three years, except for the German prisoners of war who were working on the farm and in the kitchen. Fr. Wheeler as rector was probably less successful than he had been as Minister. Some thought the fault was that he was still acting like a Minister; others found him too easy on the scholastics. In this latter regard he was more than likely ahead of his time in superior-subject relations. Not only did he anticipate later developments by believing that local superiors should handle their own problems but he was coming to see that the individual eventually has to be responsible for his own actions. He would later tell a group of scholastics: "In the Society, no one is going to carry us along on his shoulders; we have to walk and stand—on our own feet."

Yet in many ways he was still the benevolent father, personally bringing a bottle of wine for a group cleaning the pool, going on picnics with the philosophers, ruling out television as a waste of time, standing by a theologian who had gotten into personal difficulties. But he could be tough when the situation arose. Once a foreign student repeatedly refused to obey an order and challenged him to do anything about it. The next morning the scholastic was not only out of the house but on his way out of the country as well.

He looked distinguished now with fine shocks of white hair pressed back by rimless glasses. Although sixty, he was still as robust as ever. He continued to wear two reminders of an earlier age, his neck-watch piece, which he tucked inside his habit, and high-buttoned shoes. None of this kept him from showing up in the kitchen on holidays to relieve the help by washing the dishes himself. Nor did it prevent him from being personally interested in the welfare of the brothers in the community. In many ways he was an aristocrat who wasn't afraid to fit into any situation.

Not only was he far-sighted regarding the brothers. He proposed lifting cloister from portions of the house twenty years before it finally

[16] Minister's Diary, October 18, 1945.

took place. In 1947 he traveled to Hagerstown with a minister and a rabbi to speak on Brotherhood week. Still he could have his blind spots about certain things and once his mind was made up, nothing short of the provincial was liable to shake him. The television question was one such spot. Even here he started out with a good idea: that most of the programs were trash.

His health was good during those years. There was only that one sleepless night in April, 1951 toward the end of his second term when he wondered what was causing so much pain. Twelve days later it was necessary to remove his gall bladder. He returned to Woodstock a few weeks later where hundreds of Jesuits and a band greeted him with flourish.

For most of the fifties he was again at St. Ignatius on Calvert Street, becoming rector there in 1952. It was here that he first gained his interest in baseball. Ironically enough it was probably television, as much as the fact that the Orioles were now back in the major leagues, that created this interest. For the rest of his life he was an avid fan. It gave him increasing relaxation to smoke his pipe and watch or listen to games at night. Once or twice a year he would go out to Memorial Stadium. Even in his next-to-last year when heart attacks had weakened him a great deal, he took in a night game with some of the regents. When he announced that he wanted to sit in the upper deck, the scholastics wondered how soon they would be carrying him out, but he headed straight for a private elevator, got out on the upper level and led the way to a lower-row seat. Then he proceeded to smoke his pipe for the entire nine innings, except for a seventh-inning stretch with a cigar. The non-smoking scholastic next to him felt he had sat through a double-header.

Blakefield years: Part II

His last assignment was fittingly to Blakefield. For seven years he was spiritual father for the scholastics. He continued to work at a staggering rate for a man well over seventy. Besides the community at Blakefield, he gave monthly exhortations to various convents in the area. It would have been a prudent enough measure to pull out some old talks he kept in his files. But he labored over the texts, usually beginning with extensive rough drafts. Some of his best talks came in these last years.

He continued to stay in contact with those he had come to know during the past seventy years. He was forever writing letters. Although he could no longer drive, he seemed to be out on the road every day, visiting shut-ins or old friends. One dying Jesuit had asked Fr. Wheeler if he would occasionally visit his sister who lived in Silver Spring. Until

he was too weak to travel anywhere, he faithfully made the trip to see the sister.

Every Saturday he would go down to St. Ignatius to hear confessions and be available. I remember one Christmas week driving him around northern Baltimore to deliver Christmas gifts—they had been given to him originally—to several old people in need. How much he sent to how many people probably only he knew.

Inside a folder of notes on the role of a Spiritual Father, he had penciled the words: "Availability-approachability." His door was always open and he was always in his room at night. He was a good listener. He claimed that he no longer understood the new generation but he likely understood better than most men thirty years younger. Most of all, however, his genuine interest in anyone who walked in his door still came through. His memory had not left him. You could mention that your sister expected a difficult birth and weeks later he would tell you he was saying a Mass for her.

"Enthusiasm is the spirit of our age," he commented at the end of the fifties, "and we need men of enthusiasm."[17] He greeted Vatican II as a welcome sign for the future. His life-long trust in both the Church and the Society, together with his experiences abroad, enabled him to accept the notion of change graciously. Change is of the essence of life, he said in a talk in 1963, but changes must only be in external things, not in "our interior spirit of love and loyalty to the ideals of the Church and of our Society." He gladly endorsed the liturgical innovations. He read with approval the new religion texts for high schools. He thought that younger men should somehow be represented at provincial congregations. But he had little sympathy with those who questioned authority. In an exhortation he pleaded:

> Stop blaming the Society, stop blaming the courses we had, the training we got. Stop blaming the professors who taught us. Cease blaming superiors who ruled us; put the blame exactly where it should be put. Put the blame on yourself and your own continued failure to get on the job and do it.[18]

The trouble with those who constantly carped about conditions in the Society, as he saw it, was that they "become shrivelled and . . . end up retarded Jesuits, half-destroyed, underdeveloped, inept in God's service."

On the Tuesday before he died, Fr. Wheeler mentioned to a scholastic who had stopped by to see him that the Society had to change and that the changes the Society was undergoing were good. But he

[17] Exhortation given in 1959.

[18] Undated exhortation, most probably given in 1960.

steadily believed that the basic institutions of the Society could not change without the Society ceasing to be what it was meant to be. He once heard that some religious goups were asking for non-Jesuits for their retreats because certain Jesuits had given them "some sort of spiritual diet—absolutely alien to the Exercises of St. Ignatius. We gain nothing when we give up our system," he went on. "We fail when we do not live it. We become so much sounding brass."[19]

The end

Gradually, as failing health almost imperceptively cut down on his activity, he found another tension developing besides that of change. He wanted to continue to make a contribution in the house but felt less and less capable of it. He would talk about getting someone else to give the fall triduum while really wanting to give it himself. The same was true of his outside activities. He began to feel more and more outside the mainstream of the community's activity. Then in September, 1964, he suffered a severe heart attack. He had previously been having occasional blackouts. After several weeks in the hospital, he returned home, looking scarcely the worse for the long convalescence. Christmas week seemed to bring him back even stronger. That Saturday night he sat in the recreation room at haustus with his nephew Tom and a few others, reminiscing on earlier days in the Society in his gravely humorous fashion. The next day while he was watching the Colts-Browns championship game on television, he was stricken again. This time it was decided that only by attaching a pacemaker to his heart was there any hope for his living a normal life for any time. He finally consented to the operation.

He lived for approximately seven months afterwards. He never experienced any more blackouts but his general system apparently could not adjust to the artificial stimulant within him. He slowly got weaker and weaker. He continued to send letters but now they had to be dictated. The day before he died, he was semi-conscious when a group of scholastics from Woodstock came over to see him. When he heard "Woodstock," he raised himself partly up, pointed a bony arm at a pile of books on his desk and said, almost as though he were still rector, "take those books back to Woodstock."

That night he called for his pipe and household matches about three o'clock in the morning. Less than an hour later he died. In one month he would have been eighty.

One Jesuit who knew him well has said that Father Wheeler's great-

[19] Undated exhortation.

est gift was that he was all things to all men. Perhaps this was his weakness as well as his strength. What will possibly be most remembered about Ferd Wheeler is his love for the Society. The patriarchal, tradition-oriented, rule-centered Society that he symbolized is giving way to one that is heading into a future that is still largely unknown. But if the Society of the Space Age and *The Secular City* can continue to produce men of Ferd Wheeler's type, the resilient faith that he forever kept in her future will have been well put.

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